SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS

FIELD MARSHAL

MOHAMMAD AYUB KHAN

PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

VOLUME-III

JULY 1960-JUNE 1961

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EDUCATIONAL REFORMS: STEPS TOWARDS IMPLEMENTATION

These deliberations and meetings are the first concrete step towards the implementation of part of the main recommendations of the commission on national education.

Of all the reforms which we have initiated in the last 20 months, and there are so many of them that I find it difficult to keep an exact account of them, the reconstruction of system of education is the one closest and dearest to my heart. No economic planning, social progress, or spiritual enlightenment can make such headway without sound, solid and realistic base of good education. I am, therefore, particularly happy to associate myself with your deliberations because, to my mind, they constitute first landmark in our endeavour to bring our educational system in line with the requirements and realities of modern life.

The Commission on National Education has recommended that the emphasis in higher education should be on quality so that products of our Colleges and Universities will be comparable with those similarly educated in other countries. To achieve this, it is imperative that the quality of College and University teachers should be improved. This in turn will depend ultimately upon our ability to recruit people of high calibre to the teaching profession; upon dedication of such people to teaching and scholarships; upon their willingness and ability continuously to refresh their knowledge and methods through personal study and research.

To improve qualifications of teachers already in service and as part

of a permanent programme through which college teachers can bring their knowledge up-to-date and acquaint themselves with new and improved techniques and stimulate their thinking, the Commission recommended that series of summer courses be instituted so that the course should cover various academic disciplines with each course, attended by University and College teachers and supervised jointly by eminent Pakistani and foreign specialists in each discipline.

Fortunately, it has been possible to implement a recommendation of the Commission with a modest beginning from the current year. Two courses one each in physics and zoology have been organized and are currently in session in Abbottabad. This programme has been organized in collaboration with the Asia Foundation. Owing to its importance, the National Science Foundation of USA has been good enough to depute its Programme Director for Summer Institute, Dr. Willing E. Morrell, to organize the course. Two other eminent educationists from America and a number of our own seasoned educationists are associating in this summer course with Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqui as its Project Director. I am glad to know that the scope of this course will expand from next year when there will be approximately 12 courses in various disciplines. I wish participants in this year's summer course very fruitful deliberations.

Secondary Education

The Commission on National Education began its chapter on secondary education with these words: "Secondary schools of this sub-continent have long been subject to deep concern. Reforms have been suggested time and again but few have been carried out. Tradition of literary type secondary schools has been so strong among the public as well as among educators that resistance to change has frustrated the intention of nearly all reforms. Result is that in many important respects these schools retain many unwelcome characteristics dating from the last century."

The Commission went to point out that the nation-building needs of our country require large numbers of people with a variety of technical skills related to industry, commerce and agriculture and that the new state of Pakistan requires men of great integrity, patriotism and dedication to the ideals of service. The secondary school programme in the past has paid little attention to these matters and its emphasis has been mainly on the preparation of students for joining university.

To correct the weaknesses in secondary school programme, the Commission has recommended that secondary education be considered

a distinct stage with its own purposes rather than as merely preparation for further education.

Within this context, the Commission has called on the diversification of curriculum to include vocational and technical subject; opportunities for diversion of students into vocational schools and technical institutions at crucial stages; greater emphasis upon the teaching of science and mathematics which are essential to development of technical competence in many fields; and a much greater emphasis on those aspects of the programme which are designed to develop character and create constructive attitude of patriotism and service.

The Secondary School Syllabus Committee consists of leading educationists drawn from Universities, Boards of Secondary Education, Inspectorate of Schools and represents some of the best talent from East and West Pakistan. Task of this Commission is to translate the broad reforms recommended by the Commission into a detailed programme and syllabus on a national basis.

Primary Education

As regards primary education, the Commission on national education pointed out that economic development will require for its rapid achievement a generally literate population which will be able to understand and apply the new discoveries of science and improved technical and agricultural practices. Furthermore, proper functioning of any democratic system must be based upon a citizenry which can inform itself on local and national issues and choose wisely from among alternative candidates and courses of action.

Primary education, Commission maintains, must go much further than the achievement of functional literacy, even though this must always be one of its principal aims, if it is to fulfil its proper function it must be concerned with all the aspects of the child's personality—moral, physical and spiritual. Spiritual—this means that it must, in accordance with the individual's abilities and aptitudes, provide him with the basic knowledge and skills he will require as an individual and as a citizen; inculcate desirable attitudes including habits of industry, personal integrity and curiousity; develop a sense of citizenship and civic responsibility; and awaken in him a liking of physical activity and an awareness of the importance of physical well-being. In the past, primary education was thought of almost exclusively in terms of reading, writing and arithmetic; even this limited objective was

hampered by syllabuses which did not reflect the peculiar needs of young children.

The Primary School Syllabus Committee has been established to develop in detail a sound progressive programme for the primary schools.

Syllabi—the Corner-stones of Education

I hope these two Committees will be able to devise syllabus which should become corner-stones of our entire system of education compatible with the requirements of today as well as of all the fast-changing, fast-developing times which have yet to come.

This is a colossal task as it means sowing the seeds of a progressive and enlightened future in impressionable minds of our coming generation. The geographical, parochial and linguistic diversities, with which we are confronted in Pakistan, present a challenge to all of you. Produce unity out of conflicting demands.

Syllabi which you devise will determine how far we are going to achieve this difficult but inescapable objective.

After the formulation of syllabi, the next important step would be preparation and production of standard text-books which through varying languages and local colour must have a positive under current of singleness of intellect and singleness of national outlook and attitudes. This immense task will require the pooling of the entire literary and intellectual talent in the country, and I have no doubt in mind that men of your eminence, experience and culture will be more than equal to this great challenge.

I shall watch the progress of your deliberations with deep interest and wish you all luck in your important mission.

(Address at the meeting of the Curriculum Committee held at Abbottabad on July 12, 1960)

QUAID-I-AZAM'S MAUSOLEUM: TO BE WORTHY OF HIS GREAT PERSONALITY

It is a day of joy and pride for us that by the grace of Allah we are at long last able to perform the duty which for the last 12 years remained a standing responsibility of the entire nation. The construction of the Quaid-i-Azam's mausoleum continued to be a problem which lingered on from year to year.

This delay was tantamount to sheer ingratitude on our part to a leader who had devoted his all to translating the dream of Pakistan into reality and laid the foundation of a state unique in the entire Islamic world in respect of its material resources and spiritual ideology.

Besides the State of Pakistan, the noblest legacy which the Quaid-i-Azam has left us includes his integrity, political acumen and statesmanship. There have been few leaders in history who could weld so utterly disjointed, and oppressed a people into a full-blooded nation in so short a time and make them masters of a great State. The atmosphere of freedom in which we are breathing today and the new avenues of progress that are unfolding before us in an ever increasing measure are entirely the fruits of endeavours and the struggle of that great fighter in the cause of human liberty. Let us all pray to God to enable us to follow in the footsteps of our revered leader and may his integrity, sincerity and patriotism serve as our beacon light.

When the Quaid-i-Azam's Memorial Fund was first constituted, it was expected that a sum of Rs. 3 crores would be collected for the construction of a mausoleum, a *Darul Uloom* in West Pakistan and a

technical institute in East Pakistan. But, actually only Rs. one and a half crore was collected. Of this, it is proposed to spend Rs. 70 to 75 lakhs on the construction of the mausoleum and Rs. 20 to 25 lakhs on erecting a large *Jama Masjid* which would also serve as an *Idgah* for the city of Karachi. The balance will be utilised for the promotion of suitable academic education and research to stand as running monument in the memory of the Quaid-i-Azam.

It will be recalled that during the last eight to ten years a number of designs for the mausoleum were received and were rejected for one reason or the other. However, after a great deal of effort and quest, the design prepared by Mr. Yahya Merchant has now been finally accepted.

Besides its other merits, two points weighed with us in particular in making this selection. Firstly, Mr. Merchant had the privilege of working for the Quaid-i-Azam in Bombay and had earned his appreciation for his work. And secondly, Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah has full confidence in Mr. Merchant's capabilities and has approved the design prepared by him.

Besides the Quaid-i-Azam's tomb, two other great leaders who enjoyed the love and esteem of the nation are also burried in this site. I mean the graves of Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. Unfortunately, no proper planning was made while selecting the site for these tombs and this has rendered it difficult to maintain any symmetry of design between them and the main *Mazar*. I propose to provide two separate structures worthy of the two leaders and which would architecturally be in complete harmony with the Quaid-i-Azam's mausoleum. Separate schemes will be prepared for this purpose.

I will do my utmost to ensure that the structure of the Quaid-i-Azam's mausoleum is completed in the shortest possible time. I hope *Insha-Allah*, we shall soon be able to raise a historic building on the grave of the Quaid-i-Azam which will not only be worthy of his great personality but will also inspire us and the coming generations with the noble cause of faith, unity, descipline, courage, honesty, sincerity and truth which the Father of the Nation so dearly upheld.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad. Pakistan Zindabad.

(Speech on the occasion of the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Quaid-i-Azam's Mausoleum on July 31, 1960)

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

On this great day—the day of the dawn of our Independence—let us first of all offer our humble thanksgiving to Divine Providence who has chosen to confer the bliss of freedom on us; and, secondly, pay our sincere homage to the memory of all those, who, with the Quaid-i-Azam at the head of the list, conceived, sponsored and implemented the idea of Pakistan.

Let us also on this day pay our silent tribute to those countless men, women and children who fell like martyrs in unequal conflicts in the cause of freedom.

When one looks back on the day of our life as a nation one cannot help looking at the flow of events which marred rather than made the history of the following years. It is not pleasant to recall them on a solemn day like this, but the scars they have left on the character, solidarity and stability of our life as a nation are not easy to forget. However, before it was too late, a check came on the 7th of October, 1958.

This was not a purposeless change. It was brought about with a clear object and an unmistakable aim. Those of you who have been studying our affairs during the last 22 months would agree that there is definite theme and purpose behind all that is being done.

The vast reforms and innovations that are taking place, or will take place, are no experimental groping in the dark. They are fully calculated and carefully planned strings in the network of an overall objective to try and help society to get over the weaknesses and vices of its history, to come out of the stupor of its stagnant past and thus start preparing

itself for onward march towards its appointed destiny.

There may be some who are not impressed by all this; but that should not deter us from moving in the right direction. After all, these endeavours are not being undertaken merely to impress or claim any reward or acclaim. The real object is very much deeper and far more penetrating than the naked eye can see within the range of its physical vision.

The body of reforms may often be spectacular, but their spirit takes some time to make its full impact. I have no doubt in my mind that a day will come much sooner than later when the beneficence of these endeavours will manifest itself in concrete terms and we shall all, *Insha-Allah*, reap a rewarding harvest.

I would also like to tell you with all humility that the fundamental and sound planning that has gone into our actions of the past 22 months is almost staggering. It would not be far wrong to say that almost a hundred years' worth of planning has actually taken place within a period of less than two speedy years.

By and large, the ideas are mine but the credit for the immense amount of work that has gone into the processing of these ideas goes to my Cabinet colleagues and a large number of public servants who have been associated with me. I am thankful to them and I hope you will also feel the same towards them.

At lower levels, at times, people complain about lack of speed in the disposal of cases, inadequate attention to their problems and indifference towards their needs and difficulties.

I do not wish to defend such public servants who do not realize the need of today which is to put life in our people so that they gain a real sense of responsibility and become equipped to take full share in the advancement of the country. But you will agree with me that good officers are doing their best even though they are short-handed and vast amounts of new and unprecedented responsibilities have fallen on their shoulders.

It is fashionable to blame the officers in season and out of season, but don't you think that we, as a society also share a part of the blame by making unreasonable and sometimes even undeserving demands and failing to observe moral and ethical standards that are expected of a free nation? So, whereas there is room for correction in officers for which we have already taken quite a few effective steps, there is also room for correction in the conduct and ethics of the rest of society.

I am not in the least despaired of this as I am convinced that in a

generation or two these scores and ills of our past history will certainly get eradicated. What is important to remember is that if everyone of us makes a conscious effort to conform to higher moral standards worthy of a free people, we may be able to reduce this period of probation considerably.

Relations with Other Countries

As regards our relations with our neighbours and other countries, our constant endeavour had been to promote understanding, friendship and amity with dignity. We have never and shall never interfere in the affairs of other countries nor do we seek any return or reward from them except to the extent of goodwill and friendship that we offer. Our problems are our problems and it is we alone who shall have to resolve them.

Relations with India

In foreign affairs, our relationship with India—because of geographical and other factors—is of major importance not only to us but I believe to India as well. We have made every conceivable effort to go out of our way to resolve our problems with that country even though the response from Indian leadership has been very very tardy indeed.

In some matters, however, we have met a measure of success, but our major dispute with India, *i.e.* Kashmir does not look like getting anywhere near its solution. There is a talk of Mr. Nehru coming to Pakistan for signing the Water Treaty if and when it is finalized.

Problem of Kashmir

He has also expressed a desire to discuss other outstanding problems, presumably inclusive of Kashmir. It remains to be seen whether these talks are going to meet the same fate as several such talks that took place between Delhi and Karachi. A good deal will depend on the Indian attitude.

Just yet, Indian leadership does not seem to see the virtue of settling this dispute with us, though one day they shall have to do so in the interest of their own ultimate security and well-being. There has to be a satisfactory settlement of this problem if there is to be any form of peace between India and Pakistan. Till then, our pledge to the poor

people of Kashmir stands firmly and solemnly. About this there must never be any shadow of doubt.

I can also see very clearly that the future of South-East Asia depends, to a large extent, on the relationship between India and Pakistan. If there is real peace between the two, what is there to prevent an integrated development and economic policy between Iran, Pakistan, India, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and even Indonesia and other countries of that region?

This can only happen if India can inspire confidence in her peaceful intentions and is prepared to resolve her quarrels with her neighbours in a spirit of large-heartedness. For the future of the teeming millions of these countries, I pray that such light and statesmanship may dawn on India.

Danger of World Conflict

The international situation in terms of East and West relationship has been bad for a long time but lately it has deteriorated to a dangerous point. In such a state of mounting tensions, the danger of a world conflict cannot be entirely ruled out. Any world conflagration of today would be a thousand times worse as compared to what happened twice within the living memory of a large number of people.

Scientific Progress

Science has made so much progress, some for good and some also for bad, that it is within the reach of a man today to destroy practically the whole human race and all that it has created through countless centuries of hard labour and endeavour. We hope and pray that the Powers, who have enormous vehicles of destruction in their hand, will come to some reasonable understanding to be able to live with one another in some measure of peace.

World Federation

For us it is essential to have a sustained and long period of peace so that we can channel all our resources and efforts towards scientific advancement and progress. Perhaps this, too, is the desire of the best part of the human race.

The point is, how can peace be achieved when the world is so

sharply divideb ideologically and dangerously poised against each other. The real answer, of course, lies in world government or world federation. Let us hope that the present day trials and tribulations are the birth pangs of this ultimate solution.

Peace is of vital importance to us, and on this great day, let us all dedicate ourselves solemnly and honestly to live and work for the ideal of peace both at home and abroad.

(Independence Day Broadcast from Rawalpindi on August 13, 1960)

REORGANISATION OF CHAMBERS OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY

It gives me great pleasure to learn that the new Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which is at the apex of trade and industrial organisation all over the country is being inaugurated in Karachi today. The formation of this new Federation is the culmination of Government's policy to re-organise all Chambers and Associations of trade and industry in the country. It is, therefore, an occasion of considerable significance.

This reform is of far reaching importance to the country. It is designed to make Government on the one hand and trade and industry on the other equal partners in the great adventure of building up the economic development of Pakistan. Government will look to the re-organised bodies to provide advice to it on issues referred to them for this purpose and to serve on committees which Government will set up from time to time to deal with specific problems. This pre-supposes that these bodies will be manned at all stages with intelligent, patriotic and capable persons.

Side by side with these privileges, the Chambers and Associations will have to assume new obligations and responsibilities to which insufficient attention was paid in the past. Apart from advising their members to the best of their ability not only in the members' interest but also that of the country at large, they will also have to ensure that the activities of their individual members are carried out with due regard to the accepted standards in the field of trade and industry.

Tasks Ahead

The country faces tasks of unprecedented magnitude in the economic sphere in the years immediately ahead. Government is determined to raise the standard of living of the common man, strengthen the country's economy and open up new vistas for commercial and industrial activity. We are determined to do our very best to see that the benefits of development and opportunities for progress are not confined only to the wealthy members of the community but are also made available to those endowed with imagination, talent, initiative and drive. In this task, your co-operation and advice will be most welcome.

I am sure all of you will appreciate that this Federation and its constituent members have a very vital role to play. It is a role which will call for the application of the best talent among you, a great sense of responsibility and restrained and constructive criticism rather than the frequently irresponsible behaviour which some organisations exhibited in the past. I am confident that the new Federation will set the example and see that in future all Chambers and Associations in the country will act on the right lines.

I wish the Federation good luck and long and creditable service to the country.

(Message to the Inaugural Session of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry held in Karachi on August 15, 1960)

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOL EDUCATION

It is a great pleasure for me to participate in the centenary of the Founder's day of Lawrence College which has completed a hundred years of excellent service to the cause of education in our country.

I have listened with deep interest Mr. Principal, to your address recounting the well-planned system which your college follows to look after the mental, moral, cultural, physical and spiritual needs of your students.

I am particularly happy to note that you are not only giving the study of *Islamiat* its proper place in your curriculum but emphasis is also laid on the practice of religion in everyday life.

As you might have noted, the National Education Commission had devoted very detailed attention to the question of incorporating religious instruction in school education and the meticulous care with which these recommendations are now being examined and implemented are bound to produce a system which harmonises the best material requirements with spiritual values.

Substance of Real Education

The sum and substance of real education is to produce men and women of character with qualities of leadership based on truth, sincerity, patriotism and a genuine fear of God. It is my earnest desire to ensure that our future system of education develops in a way which makes for

the growth of enlightened and integrated personalities capable of facing the challenge of the new age in all the spheres of the matter, the mind and the spirit.

I am glad, Mr. Principal, that you feel that the manner in which your institution is running at present will help and facilitate it to fall in line with the recommendations of the National Education Commission for secondary and residential schools.

I agree with you, Mr. Principal, that the place of residential public schools like yours is sometimes likely to be misjudged in relation to the general economic and other standards obtaining in the country.

While there is always need for good institutions which provide special facilities for the training and education of your boys and girls, there is, however, one danger which ought to be guarded against. These schools should, on no account, lose contact with the realities of life and their students should not go out as an exclusive class with a different pattern of social, economic and cultural habits and values.

On the contrary, they should be capable of marching into the general stream of our national life with an attitude of patriotic understanding without any complexes of superiority or snobbery.

It is only by this way that the uncommon environments and facilities of education which public schools offer can make their full impact on the common life of the nation.

I congratulate you, Mr. Principal, on the brilliant result which your college has been showing in the fields of sports and studies, and I wish you the best of progress in your future undertakings. Thank you.

(*Address at the Centenary of the Founder's Day of Lawrence College, Ghora Galli, on September* 3, 1960)

EID-I-MILAD-UN-NABI DAY MESSAGE

Eid-i-Milad-un-Nabi is a day which calls for deep reflection and meditation on the life and message of the last Prophet of God (Peace be on him). The seal of finality which has since been put on divine revelation imposes a great burden of responsibility on every man, woman and child of the entire *Ummat*. It now falls on them to preserve, promote and practise the Word of God as revealed and implemented by the truest, the noblest and the most perfect of his creatures.

The fulfilment of this mission requires courage, character and a straight and searching mind which does not shun the spirit of free and honest inquiry.

The relentless quest for the unknown which the modern age has released will give recognition to religion only to the extent religion itself moves forward rather than backwards. This is a dangerous period in which the faith of man has to keep pace with his fast widening horizons of knowledge and comprehension.

Dynamic Modernism of Islam

The dynamic modernism of Islam contains all the attributes necessary to face the challenge of this new age, provided the Muslims themselves learn to pay real rather than mere lip-service to the principles of their great faith instead of mere formalism. This is the truest homage which we can, on this day, resolve to pay to the endearing and noble life of Prophet Mohammad (Peace be on him).

(Message to the nation on the occasion of Eid-i-Milad-un-Nabi from Rawalpindi on September 4, 1960)

INDUS WATERS TREATY: THE BEST THAT WAS POSSIBLE

In a few days time we hope to enter into a treaty with India over the distribution of the waters of the Indus basin. The negotiations of this issue extending over many difficult years have had a chequered career. There have been innumerable occasions on which it seemed that the talks had run into what appeared to be complete deadlocks. When I assumed responsibility for the Government of the country in October, 1958, I undertook an urgent assessment of facts, acquainted myself with the issues underlying this dispute and reached certain definite and firm conclusions. I think the time has come when I should attempt to acquaint the people of Pakistan with the basic realities of the situation as it faced us in this field, and, with the circumstances which underlined the imperative necessity of a speedy solution of this dangerous dispute—a solution which could ensure for us an adequate measure of protection against economic ruination without having to resort to desperate measures.

Origin of Dispute

The partition of the sub-continent had left the headworks of some of our major irrigation systems in the Indian territory. All the canals of what are known as the Central Bari Doab and the Sutlej Valley projects depended for their supplies on headworks and rivers under Indian control. The rivers Sutlej, Bias and Ravi whose water flowed into these

canals originated and ran for long distances in Indian territory before they entered Pakistan.

I need not recall the drastic action which India chose to take soon after partition by withholding vital supplies to our canals and the grave crisis in our affairs which resulted from this action. Water was released to our canals only under certain conditions to which we had to agree or face physical devastation of vast fertile areas. This could happen again, whether on the plan of their own urgent requirements or on the basis of a claim to the exclusive ownership of water passing through her territory.

India, I had no doubt, would in the course of a few years, appropriate for her use all the waters of Sutlej, Bias and Ravi and perhaps even some water of Chenab, thus leaving us to fend for ourselves. As an upper riparian she was in a position to deprive us of all this water which flowed to us through her territory. I have no doubt in my mind that tempted by the prospect of quick economic development through easy availability of this water, India would continue to undertake engineering works which would soon result in complete desolation of millions of acres in Pakistan.

We had no alternative but to make a genuine and determined efforts to assist the International Bank to find an engineering solution of this grave problem which imperilled the relations between the two countries, a solution with which we could live and which would provide financial and technical resources to enable us to take waters of the western rivers to feed our canals taking off from the eastern rivers which would become dry ditches after their water had been taken away by India.

After years of negotiations of utmost complexity, heart-breaking delays and frequent stalemates we have, I feel, been able to obtain a solution which answers to that description. I do not intend to describe the details of this treaty. It embodies a compromise reflecting a spirit of give and take on both sides which is indispensable to a final settlement in the interest of peace and amity between the two countries and the welfare of their peoples.

Basis of Settlement

Stated very briefly, the settlement is based on the division of the rivers, according to which after a transition period of 10 years, extendable at Pakistan's request to 13 years, the three eastern rivers would

exclusively fall to India's share and the waters of the three western rivers will be available to Pakistan, except for certain limited uses in upstream areas in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. During the transition period, Pakistan would undertake construction of system of works consisting of two large dams, one on the Jhelum and the other on the Indus, five barrages and seven new link canals to replace the supplies of the eastern rivers for the areas served by the Central Bari Doab and the Sutlej Valley canals.

While this system of works is being built, India will continue deliveries from the eastern rivers according to an agreed programme, which would take into account some development needs of Pakistan as well. India has agreed to pay a specified sum towards the cost of these works. As this payment would be far from sufficient for the completion of the works, the World Bank is setting up an Indus Basin Development Fund made of contributions from friendly countries.

The implementation of the treaty would be entrusted to a Commission consisting of a nominee from each country. The treaty contains detailed provisions for the settlement of all disputes either by a neutral or a court of arbitration.

Realistic Plan

The solution that we have now got is not the ideal one—the ideal solution when negotiated can seldom be obtained, but this is the best that we could get under the circumstances many of which, irrespective of merits and legality of the case, are against us. So, whereas there is no cause for rejoicing at this juncture, there is certainly a cause for satisfaction and thanksgiving, that a very ugly situation which might have arisen in the absence of such an agreement, has been averted and that we have been able to get the best that was possible. So those who may feel inclined to be dissatisfied, have to judge the situation in the light of this perspective.

When you are dealing with sensitive problems of this nature, you have to be very realistic and judge the situation dispassionately in order to be able to make realistic plan of approach. Very often the best is the enemy of the good and in this case we have accepted the good after careful and realistic appreciation of our entire overall situation. If we had not done that, we would have just drifted towards a conflict when so many factors were against us.

The basis of this agreement, therefore, as we are concerned, is

realism and pragmatism. Emotions had no place in it, nor can they be allowed to have when the future and safety of millions of people is involved.

Contribution of the World Bank

It was, as a matter of fact, this realisation of the imminent danger to the peace of this sub-continent, posed by the quarrel over the Indus basin water, which made the World Bank step in as a mediator in 1951. After making this dispute an issue of technical skill and human needs and lifting it from the plane of bitter political controversy, which had come to surround it, the World Bank worked with magnificent perseverance and tact over long and painful years, with the delegations of the two countries to evolve the solution which has now been shaped into a full-fledged treaty to be signed between the two countries.

I have nothing but admiration for the President Black and Vice President Iliff of the World Bank and for the Bank team which brought these negotiations to a fruitful conclusion.

I think all those who have worked on our delegations on Indus basin talks have earned the gratitude of their country for the hard work, ability and patience they have shown in the extremely difficult and delicate task. They must be complimented for a very able presentation of the case for our country.

We are also deeply grateful to the friendly Powers whose contribution to the Indus Basin Development Fund are a vital factor in making the terms of settlement acceptable to us.

The cost of the works running into more than Rs. 500 crores would obviously be something far beyond our capacity to contemplate. That these friendly nations have so readily come forward with their offers of financial assistance is not only a tribute to their sympathetic understanding of the issue involved, but also a concrete proof of their interest in stability and well-being of this sensitive part of the world.

Role of Indian Prime Minister

I would also like to tell you that in the conclusive stages of the negotiations of this treaty, it was the personal intervention of the Prime Minister of India which helped to remove certain hitches that had arisen over the arrangements relating to the transition period. I take this opportunity of thanking him for his contribution.

The experience of the spirit that prevailed during the closing periods of the negotiations of this treaty gives one cause for hope that our outstanding problems like Kashmir will also get resolved in an amicable manner. The very fact that we will have to be content with the waters of three western rivers will underline the importance for us of having physical control on the upper reaches of these rivers to secure their maximum utilization for the ever growing needs of West Pakistan. The solution of Kashmir issue, therefore, acquires a new sense of urgency. I am firmly of the hope that this settlement of the canal waters will lead to a sympathetic and realistic appreciation of our stand on Kashmir.

With the conclusion of this treaty, a chapter of long and uneasy negotiations and suspense in our national affairs is now over. We are now entering on a period of sustained hard work to provide storages and link canals for alternative sources of water. So let all those who are going to be connected with these works now address themselves to the completion of this gigantic task at the fastest possible speed.

(Broadcast to the Nation on the Indus Waters Treaty from Rawalpindi on September 4, 1960)

HOMAGE TO THE QUAID-I-AZAM

Every year on this day we pay homage to the memory of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah. Today, let all of us search our hearts and find out, whether, this ceremony is becoming just an annual ritual or, whether, there is any honest effort on our part to live up to the ideals which the great leader had placed before us.

The ideals for which the Quaid-i-Azam lived and died were embodied in one word—Pakistan. He struggled with fearless and unflinching devotion to make the idea of Pakistan a reality, and after this was achieved, he gave every ounce of his energy to make it a strong and stable nation.

By the grace of God we have gone some way on the road of strength and stability—but there is a great deal more that is yet to be done. This requires ceaseless, straight and hard work by each and every Pakistani in his or her own big or small station of life.

This is the only way to prove ourselves worthy of the great heritage of freedom which the Quaid-i-Azam bequeathed to us and this is the only true homage which we can pay to his memory.

(Message to the Nation on the death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam, from Rawalpindi on September 11, 1960)

SIND MADRESSAH-TUL-ISLAM: A SHINING EXAMPLE OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

Mr. President and members of the Sind Madressah Board, ladies and gentlemen:

I am very happy to participate in the Platinum Jubilee Celebrations of the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam which has such a long and glorious record of service to its credit.

As you have just heard in Mr. Rahman's address, this ancient institution is the product of the vision and selfless endeavours of one man—the late Khan Bahadur Hassanally Effendi. It is men like him who, from a humble start, leave abiding marks on the destinies of nations. Pioneers like him were the originators of Muslim renaissance in the entire sub-continent and it was their foresight, imagination and ceaseless effort which, in the long run, paved the way for the achievement of our independence. No tribute could be greater to the memory of the late Khan Bahadur than the high traditions which this institution has set up and maintained, and the fact that the Quaid-i-Azam was once a student here is one of its proudest laurels.

I congratulate the Sind Madressah Board not only for running this school so well but also for creating a net-work of many other institutions which are doing so much useful work in the field of education. As you have noted, the recently introduced education reforms provide a new and enlarged scope to harmonize the products of our schools and colleges with the requirements and realities of life in the country. I am glad to observe your patriotic and enthusiastic approach towards

these reforms and I have no doubt in my mind that time-honoured institutions like yours will play an outstanding part in their effective and orderly implementation.

Some of the difficulties mentioned by you are common to most privately run institutions and I can assure you that the Ministry of Education will do its best to help you overcome them. As you are perhaps aware, a sum of Rs. 45 lakhs has already been allocated to privately managed colleges to provide more facilities for students and teachers.

Out of this sum, the S.M. College, Karachi, which is run by your Board, has been given Rs. 3 lakhs. This grant is intended to provide teacher's rooms, libraries and cafeterias to promote sustained studies by the students and teachers and more intimate contact between the two through regular programmes of tutorials and guidance.

During the current year this programme will be considerably stepped up and funds are being provided for provision of similar facilities on a substantial scale for the Universities, Government Colleges and other privately managed institutions.

Our educational programme is colossal, but our resources, are limited. The gap has got to be filled up by more private enterprise and philanthropy. The Sind Madressah-tul-Islam provides a shining example of singular public enterprise over a period of 50 years, and I hope and pray that this great institution may flourish and grow from strength to strength in all the years to come.

(Speech at the Platinum Jubilee Celebrations of the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam, Karachi, on September 30, 1960)

INAUGURATION OF PAKISTAN LAWYERS' CONVENTION

Mr. Attorney General, ladies and gentlemen:

Soon after I was asked to inaugurate this important Convention, I received a letter from the late Mr. Chundrigar from London giving an idea of the speech which he proposed to deliver on this occasion. Little did we know that the cruel hand of death would remove him from our midst so quickly and so unexpectedly. He was a veteran in the fight for freedom, and, after independence was achieved, he brought his wisdom and sagacity to all the diverse responsibilities he was called upon to shoulder from time to time. My sense of grief on the loss of a personal friend is heightened by finding his place vacant in today's Convention where it is impossible to fill it with the same effect and adequacy. But such are the ways of life. May God bless his soul.

I consider it a privilege to have been asked to inaugurate this important Convention.

Lawyers' Role

Lawyers have a vital role in the affairs of the Nation. I have no doubt that this association will enable you to make a correct assessment of the nature and extent of that role and will assist you in playing it effectively in the interest of your nation.

You have said many kind things about me and have expressed appreciation of many of the steps taken by my Government. I thank you for

your welcome and appreciation. You have also raised some important points. May I say a few words about each?

You have said that an unjustified prejudice exists against lawyers in certain quarters. I can assure you, those quarters do not include me. I have never doubted the patriotism of lawyers. What I have doubted, however, is the correctness of the assumption that by his special training, the lawyer is more suitable for statesmanship than others. Please do not misunderstand me. I do not say that a lawyer is unsuited to this role. I only say that, so far as I can see, there is very little in the special training of a lawyer that makes him particularly suitable for this role. I have found this out from practical experience of the last two years. The statesman has to find a practical solution that will work in the present and the future. The past is of importance to him only as a guide to the future. The lawyer is trained mainly to take part in a process which, factually, exhausts itself with the ascertainment of past events from which rights and liabilities flow. The statesman is concerned, above all, with the expected consequences and repercussions of the steps he proposes to take. The lawyer is trained to apply the law to the ascertained facts without considering the consequences and repercussions of doing so. As an advocate, the lawyer's function is to find reasons for justifying the case of the party that happens to have engaged him. As a judge, his task is to weigh the case of both sides and pronounce judgment. So long as he has done so, he is called upon to consider nothing else. The statesman on the other hand, has to find practical ways and means to effect improvements, consolidate gains, cut losses and prevent deteriorations. Might I add that one way of judging a country's state of progress is to see, whether, it is ruled by lawyers or technicians and representatives of scientific professions. Now-a-days mere knowledge of law is not enough to hit a man to leadership. He needs much more varied knowledge and experience apart from having a spirit of dedication and strong character. I hope those who wish to take part in the politics of the country in future will remember this.

Functions of Lawyers

The prejudice of which you have spoken, if I may be pardoned for saying so, exists in certain quarters on account of the manner in which some lawyers have thought fit to discharge their functions as advocates of the case of a party instead of confining themselves to finding reasons in support of their case, some lawyers have conceived their function

to consist in finding ways and means, whether lawful or unlawful, including the giving of assistance in the fabrication of false evidence, to support the case of their client. I have no doubt that your Association will be able successfully to combat this tendency and with its eradication, I feel certain, the cause of the prejudice of which you have spoken will disappear. I have, however, one suggestion to offer. Looking at it from a layman's point of view, the legal profession in our country appears to be over-staffed. This, apart from locking useful manpower unnecessarily, creates cut-throat competition in the profession ushering in all sorts of abuses. The way to deal with this problem is the same as some other countries have done which is to ensure that only such persons come into the profession as can be usefully absorbed, and, secondly, the profession has built in arrangements or organisation to deal effectively with those who do not conform to its ethical standards.

Two Aspects of Martial Law

You have said that the Martial Law has outlived is utility. There are two aspects of Martial Law as it exists in Pakistan today.

The first aspect is that the authority of the State is at present derived from the assumption of power under a decree which was not passed in pursuance of any pre-existing constitutional provision and by which Martial Law was imposed. In this sense Martial Law has to continue till such time as a fresh constitution is introduced. For, if it was lifted before a constitution became operative, the authority of the State would have to be exercised otherwise than under a Constitution, which again would, in fact, mean Martial Law though perhaps called by another name.

The second aspect of Martial Law is the trial of certain offences by military courts as a means of maintaining law and order. In this aspect Martial Law is being gradually lifted all the time. Regulations and instructions have been issued from time to time reducing the number of military courts and the cases that are to be tried by them. Standing military courts were abolished nearly a year ago. Only a few categories of anti-social offences like smuggling, blackmarketing and hoarding are being tried by military courts specially convened for the purpose. You have said, there is a general feeling in the country that the need for military courts no longer exists. This feeling is, perhaps, confined only to the cities, and even there, mainly to those who are engaged in activities in which there are opportunities for hoarding or blackmarketing

and, perhaps those to whose lot falls the unpleasant duty of defending them if caught. From the rest of the country come pressing demands that military courts should be asked to decide more and more cases. Those in the first category are in a better position to have their voice heard than those in the second category, though very much larger in number. An impression is thus created as if the feeling of the few vocal ones is the general feeling in the country. I am very keen that the army should not get involved in matters other than military. I assure you, it is no pleasure to me or the Army to be dragged into the strife-torn and contaminated atmosphere of accusations and counter-accusations by criminals. It is only the compelling need of the situation as it has existed in this country for many years which makes it necessary for me to do so, to a limited extent.

You have said that in so far as the same act or omission can be punished either by military courts or by the civil courts, an anomaly is introduced because the opportunities of defence and liability to punishment differ in the two cases. Under the present arrangements, parallel jurisdiction of both military and civil courts has in practice been reduced to a minimum and is gradually being abolished altogether.

Need for Rule of Law

You have stressed the need for the rule of law. As a layman, by that expression I understand three things. First, the existence of a body of rules which gives notice in advance to all the citizens of the State as to legal consequence of any act or omission on their part so that no room should be left for making a law for a particular case. Second, that this body of rules should be such as to make certain that the law would be accurately applied in each case. And third, that this body of rules would be so devised as not to give an undue preference to any. A great deal of thought is being given to devising institutions by which these objectives can be assured. Until such time as those institutions are brought into being, my Government remains vigilant to see that those objectives are fully kept in view in the existing conditions. Departures from them have taken place in the past and I have no doubt that departures still continue to take place. I have good reason for believing, however, that instances of such departures are less frequent now than before.

You have deplored what you have described as a tendency to give finality to orders passed by the Executive. I entirely agree that a defini-

tion of the limits of Executive authority is essential. I also agree that the Judiciary should have the ultimate power of deciding, whether, the limits of Executive authority have or have not been exceeded. But I do not agree that those limits should be unduly rigid or that within those limits there should be a possibility for the Judiciary to interfere with the acts of the Executive. It has sometimes been assumed that the Executive Officers are for ever attempting to break the law and that the Judicial Officers are there to put a restraint upon them. Such an assumption gives rise to an attitude of hostility and conflict between the two, which is not healthy. Any Government worth its name should be in a position to control its Executive Officers and rectify their errors. Judicial processes usually take long and hold up for the sake of individual interests for which steps frequently need be taken speedily in the larger interest of the country as a whole. I do not think that there has been any greater tendency towards bestowing finality on acts of Executive functionaries than in the past. Except, perhaps, in one or two instances where the national need was assessed to be very pressing, the determination, whether, an act is within or outside the prescribed limits has been left to the courts, in the recent legislation in this country.

Essentials of Freedom

You have said that the freedom of speech, the dignity of person and the respect for property should be restored. This presupposes that all these existed in the past but have been taken away now. I doubt if either premises is correct. I wonder how much dignity of person existed in the past. I feel confident that it does not exist to a lesser extent today. With reference to the respect for other peoples' property, I do not think that it is any less than it was before. Looking at the crime figures, I get the contrary impression. If by respect for property you mean that some of the laws that have been made by my Government deprive owners of vested rights in certain circumstances, I would request you to examine the objects of these legislations. In the national interest, owners of certain kinds of property have been deprived of their vested rights, but always as against compensation or the payment of price, which has been sought to be made as equitable as possible. As regards freedom of speech, it is true that criticism of Martial Law is forbidden. Freedom of speech, however, is a necessary instrument for a specific purpose. It must be judged in the context of that purpose. Freedom of speech has never meant an unlimited licence to say what-

ever one likes. For example, one may not injure the reputation of another except in certain specified situations. Otherwise the law of defamation would be attracted. The freedom to criticise the acts of the Government is necessary for two purposes. It is necessary in the first place to keep the Government perpetually informed as to the reactions to, and repercussions of, its policies so as to enable it to make necessary adjustments or modifications. It is necessary in the second place, to pass judgment on the competence of an existing Government so as to bring about a change of Government if necessary. The second purpose can be achieved only if a constitutional arrangement is in existence through which an orderly change of Government can take place. If there is none, the second purpose can only be achieved through a disorderly change which results in a disturbance of law and order. The second purpose, therefore, is incompatible with a state of affairs in which replacement machinery is yet to be devised. Moreover, for freedom of speech for the purposes of criticism of Government, it is necessary to have the capacity to distinguish between responsible freedom and irresponsible licence.

For the first purpose, freedom of speech and expression exists today to the same extent to which it did in the past. For the second purpose, it does not exist today but will be restored as soon as the new constitution is ushered in. I hope, however, that till such time as the wisdom to distinguish between freedom and licence does not become a part of the character of the majority of our people, some provision on the lines of the already existing limitations will be introduced in the law to regulate the freedom of speech. I do not think that in the fast moving world of today we can afford the luxury of indulging in suicidal activities by bringing about instability in Government, for the sake of satisfying some requirements of foreign theoreticians applicable to their own conditions.

Fundamental Rights under New Constitution

You have expressed the hope that the new constitution will ensure certain fundamental rights. That these rights must be preserved and protected unimpaired is beyond question. The question however, whether the legislature itself should be trusted, as in England, not to make laws which may violate them, or whether the courts should be invested with the jurisdiction of declaring these acts of the legislature

ultra vires which, in the opinion of the court, are in violation of them, I think, must be receiving due attention from the Constitution Commission. I do not think it would be proper for me to anticipate the recommendations of the Constitution Commission. The further question whether a violation of the law in respect of a fundamental right should be rectifiable by a procedure other than or different from that applicable to the violations of other provisions of law, likewise, I think, must be engaging the attention of the Constitution Commission and for the same reason, I would like to refrain from expressing an opinion about it.

Task of Constitution Commission

Just yet the Commission is engaged in the onerous task of finding out the type of Constitution that can work in our circumstances and state of development. They are calling up people to offer views. Their real object is to find out wisdom, a true path or *Sirat-i-Mustaqim*. So those who go before them remember this and try and make a contribution which is appropriate, sound and original. Mere repetition of hackneyed and borrowed ideas won't get us very far.

Participation in International Conferences

You have said that you have been repeatedly impressing upon the authorities concerned the importance of various international conferences with reference to legal matters. International conferences serve a very useful purpose. They enable experts from different countries to pool their knowledge together. They bring people from different regions in the same forum. They widen the outlook. If a country had unlimited means, participation in international conferences would be a most desirable activity. As it is, however, our means are not unlimited. In fact, they are very limited. We have many demands on our meagre foreign exchange resources. It becomes necessary, therefore, to fix priorities and to enforce them rather strictly. Some of the international conferences in respect of legal matters are of particular importance to Pakistan. Others are not. We cannot encourage participation in international conferences indiscriminately because there are other uses for the same foreign exchange which at the present juncture are needed more urgently. Let us hope that the liberalization of foreign exchange quota for travelling will enable some of you to participate in conferences of your choice with your individual quotas even if Government does not

find it possible to allow a special quota for a particular conference. You have referred in this connection, to the case of a Councillor of the International Bar Association not having been allowed to proceed abroad without assigning any reasons. That action was taken by the Karachi Administration in consideration of certain matters which that Administration considered relevant in the individual case. It had nothing to do with any policy of Government with reference to participation in international conferences.

(Inaugural Address at the Pakistan Lawyers' Convention held in Karachi on September 30, 1960)

MESSAGE TO AZAD KASHMIR RADIO

I am delighted to see this new building of the Azad Kashmir Radio.

In 1948, when this Radio Station was started by the freedom fighters its studio was located in a truck. Even during the most difficult and trying period the Azad Kashmir Radio continued to beam the message of freedom, courage and hope to millions of Kashmiris in occupied parts of the state.

You should continue to relay your message to your oppressed brethren with exemplary devotion and sincerity until Kashmir attains its basic and inherent right to self-determination.

Insha Allah you are bound to succeed.

(Message to the Azad Kashmir Radio on the occasion of his visit to Muzaffarabad, on October 7, 1960)

SHER DILLS—WORTHY RECEPIENTS OF NATIONAL STANDARD

I congratulate you, the officers and men of the 5th Battalion of the Punjab Regiment on this proud day when you are adding one more laurel to the galaxy of honour which Sher Dills have earned during a career of more than hundred years.

The presentation of the National Standard to you today confirms on you a fresh dignity as well as responsibility which can be profitably renewed all the time. For men of honour, there is no honour greater than that of keeping the national flag aloft.

Symbol of Nation's Sovereignty

It symbolises the essence of a nation's sovereignty, independence, and self-respect. This emblem of our nation's honour could not be entrusted to better hands than those of the brave Sher Dills. God bless you with courage and fortitude to keep it flying in the highest of traditions.

Flags, as you have already heard, are a historical symbol representing from time immemorial the indomitable will of humanity to preserve and proclaim its honour and the basic right of independence.

For us, Muslims, it has a special sanctity because the last Prophet of God and the noble and the most perfect of His creatures made it the emblem of those who were in the vanguard of his crusade for peace and faith.

So, as independent citizens of a free State as well as Muslims, we are doubly pledged to safeguard the integrity and honour of our national flag.

Once again I congratulate the Sher Dills on the renewed honour and responsibility they are having today and pray that God in His infinite grace may grant ever-lasting honour and victory to our National Standard.

May the future of this brave regiment be as glorious as their past. *Ameen. Pakistan Paindabad.*

(*Address to the Officers and Jawans of the Fifth Battalion of the Punjab Regiment in Rawalpindi on October* 13, 1960)

APPEAL FOR EAST PAKISTAN GOVERNOR'S RELIEF FUND

At the Governors' conference today the first business transacted was to ascertain from the Governor of East Pakistan the nature and extent of loss of life and damage to property caused by the cyclone, which hit East Pakistan recently. The final assessment of the damage will take sometime to complete. In the meanwhile, we have to get on with relief measures.

The extent of calamity is so serious as to call for help both from the Government and the people of Pakistan. The Central and Provincial Governments are already doing all in their power to render aid in the form of monetary help, supplies and medical relief. But the long term measures will require planning and large funds for relief spread over years.

The Governor of East Pakistan has a fund called the Governor's Relief Fund, which is meant for such calamities. He has invited donations to this fund. I support the cause and appeal to the strong sense of sympathy, which all Pakistanis feel for their stricken brethren. Let us send all we can spare for the widows, the orphans and the injured and for those, who have lost their homes, cattle and belongings.

All remittances may be sent by crossed cheque or money order to the Secretary to the Governor of East Pakistan, Dacca. A receipt will be issued as soon as the remittance is received.

(*Appeal issued from Lahore for contributions to East Pakistan Governor's Relief Fund on October* 24, 1960)

NATIONAL DEFENCE: A SOLDIER'S PRIMARY DUTY

Brave soldiers, sailors and airmen of the Pakistan Defence Services-*Assalam-o-Alaikum.* I congratulate you on this Revolution Day. By God's grace the aims and objects of the Revolution are being pursued with sincerity and honesty. The great reforms which have been introduced in various fields of our national life promise a prosperous and glorious future for us all.

This new era of national reconstruction demands the very best of talents and efforts from every single citizen of Pakistan.

National defence is the most important and primary duty of every soldier and I am proud of the fact that the Pakistani soldier has performed this sacred duty most successfully and efficiently.

May God help you and be on your side. *Ameen.*

(*Message to the Armed Forces daily newspaper "Hilal" on the eve of the Second Anniversary of the Revolution on October* 26, 1960)

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION: TASKS AHEAD

Assalam-o-Alaikum: Today I would like you to join me in an earnest endeavour to look ahead instead of cuddling merely on the past. This process of looking ahead need not be conducted by gazing into the crystal of material progress alone. This is only one—though quite an important one—aspect of life.

To comprehend life in its total richness we must find in it a larger, a nobler, and a more abiding purpose and direction. Without this higher purpose and direction, all material progress and prosperity is dunghill, or like rain on rocks where it stands and stagnates and does not fertilize.

Luckily for us, this purpose and direction of life is available to us in clear and unambiguous terms in the ideology of Islam. This term—the ideology of Islam—has often been used and abused to cover personal and political ambitions and inadequacies, and, it has, in consequence, developed the meaning of an insincere platitude. But in the context of our national affairs today there is absolutely no need for us to seek the cover of any false slogans to project or justify our motives or actions.

Since the day of Revolution two years ago, our cards have constantly been on the table and the implications of what we have done or propose to do are not concealed. So it should be possible for us now to talk of higher objectives of life more purposefully and with a greater spirit of detachment.

Speaking in this context, our first objective is to re-integrate our society and base it on the ideology of Islam—which, in fact, was the

foremost purpose which justified the very creation of Pakistan. In order to be able to get to the starting point of this re-integration, we have to liberate our minds from two types of inhibitions. One type is born of modern education which under the circumstances of slavery rendered everything native, including religion, as something which is not quite fashionable. The second type is the product of inflexible dogma which has driven the spirit of religion into a black-hole of prejudice, superstition and suffocation. Paradoxically, both these so-called educated and uneducated classes meet at one common platform: the platform of religious ignorance.

Sense of Free Inquiry

As Millat-i-Wasta (people of the middle path), it should be our task to break both these extremes by promoting a sense of free inquiry, which, when tempered with honesty of purpose and genuine fear of God will enable us to order our individual and collective actions on the true principles of Islam, take lessons from the past and find ways and means for resolving our problems in the circumstances of today. One of the main teachings of the *Quran* is that life is a process of progressive creation and each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, must be permitted to solve its own problems.

Remember that change is the key-note of life. Nature wants man to change or perish. Iqbal, who has been one of the most enlightened interpreters of the spirit of Islam in the modern age has truly said that the ultimate spiritual basis of all life is eternal and it reveals itself in variety and change.

A society must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life, because the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change which according to the *Quran* is one of the greatest "signs" of God, tend to immobilise what is essentially mobile in its nature. The failure of the West in political and spiritual fields illustrates the loss of its grip on eternal values; the weakening of the vigour of Islam during the last many centuries illustrates the effect of immobility.

Moral Advancement

For the first time in the history of Islam Providence has provided an occasion to a solid mass of 90 million Muslims to participate in the

great responsibility of blending their Faith with their day to day affairs of life. In the past, even when there were Muslim rulers, the broad masses never had a chance to take part in ordering the shape of their affairs. Now this great opportunity which we have got is both a privilege and responsibility. To fulfil this, we have to place before us a neat goal which is to get out of the social, political and economic stagnation bequeathed to us by our past and to match our material progress with our moral and spiritual advancement.

This can only happen if we identify the beauty of Islam and practise its social objectives, have a sound system of education as we are trying to evolve and create such socio-political and economic institutions that we can understand and work and which are capable of bringing about a long spell of stability and steady progress. And above all, we have to be Pakistanis and take pride in Pakistan.

The achievement of these goals are both a national and individual responsibility. In fact the national endeavour will depend entirely on the extent of each individual contribution. You cannot draw from a bank more than what you deposit in it. The meaning of that is that you cannot expect from the country more than what contribution you have made in building it up. So there is need for each one of us to become better individuals and have fullest sense of responsibility and realisation of obligations towards Pakistan.

Apart from acquiring the usual education and technical training, what is equally—even more—important for us is to become morally and spiritually religious. Our religiosity today extends to personal and material attitudes alone. So long as the forms are observed the substance and the spirit do not seem to matter. This is the negation of goodness and fullness of life. What we—all of us—require to develop are correct moral values, a true sense of patriotism and an honest attitude of responsibility towards man and society. Before going to sleep every night, let each one of us put to himself or herself a simple question: "What have I done today to make Pakistan strong?"

In fact I would like to see this slogan displayed in every household, office and make able to continuously remind us of our duty towards the country.

On a straight answer to this question will depend how much forward or backward the nation is going to move next morning.

Tasks Ahead

What you and I are required to do is by no means a superhuman task.

All that we have to do is simple; to link up and integrate the distances and diversities of our nation; to bring in correct, realistic, free and positive thinking; to carry out correctly and honestly the tasks allotted to us, thus leading to more and more production in every sphere of endeavour; to desist from malpractices and, if possible, stop others from indulging in them; to imbibe truth, sincerity, firmness and generosity; and to set standards of morality and decorum which befit the conduct of those who claim to be the followers of the great religion of Islam.

Given these personal attributes, there is no doubt that the nation will, *Insha Allah*, soon rise to giddy pinnacles of power and glory.

Functions of Basic Democracies

As you know, the future shape of our constitution is now under the consideration of an able and high-powered Commission. In the meantime, I hope you have examined the philosophy behind the system of Basic Democracies. One of the fundamental functions of this system is to bring about an effective fusion of official and non-official agencies at different tiers of Basic Democracies.

In this context a question is often asked as to what happens if there is difference of opinion between the official and non-official elements? Will these controversial issues be decided on the strength of votes? My answer to that is this: Must we always decide matters by counting of votes? Can't we adopt the sensible alternative of going by the consensus of opinion for the common good instead of creating hard and fast cleavages in our ranks based on majorities and minorities?

I believe that instead of blindfoldedly following the pattern of the West we should try to run by representative institutions based on the concept of consensus of opinion. If we can do that and I do not see any reason why we should not—because the whole of our past social history and religious tradition is based on that—then we might well be able to do away with the curse of party system. This may sound unorthodox and novel, but if we can bring it about, I have no doubt that our future generations will certainly bless us for leaving them a legacy of practical courage and realism.

Kashmir: A Time-Bomb

Now a word about Kashmir. Recently we have heard the Kashmir

problem being likened to Pandora's box and fears expressed that if it is touched and *status quo* changed all sorts of weird consequences will follow. I for one do not agree that it is Pandora's box. It will be more correct to call it a time-bomb never very far removed from the flash point and unless the intention is to make it explode through lack of foresight and statesmanship the answer is to defuse it as quickly as possible and that cannot be done without touching it.

The fact of the matter is that apart from vitiating the relations between India and Pakistan, the problem of Kashmir is also sapping the vitals of India first and then Pakistan. If it goes on like this, it will inevitably aggravate the problem of India which are already not too inconsiderable. A weak India will be no solace or strength to Pakistan. And how strong can India be when it has taken upon itself to have twice the army it needs despite the threat from the north incurring about a hundred and fifty crores of additional expenditure a year, I leave you to decide. So when I talk about solving this problem I mean just as well by India as by Pakistan and the people of Kashmir. It is my faith that this problem shall be solved one day, *Insha Allah*. My prayer and effort is that it should be solved peacefully.

Three Pledges

To sum up, I beg of you, my dear countrymen and women to dedicate this day to three solemn pledges:

(1) Every night ask yourselves the question what you have done for Pakistan today and see that the answer is befitting to the station of your life;

(2) In the ideological bank of Pakistan, pool all the resources of your head and heart and soul so that we are not found wanting in the role for which destiny has given us the chance; and

(3) In the monetary banks of Pakistan, put all your savings and profits so that the gigantic development projects which are being planned proceed smoothly and enable us to leave a richer, happier and easier life for the generations to come.

God bless you. *Pakistan Paindabad*.

(Broadcast to the Nation on the eve of Second Anniversary of the Revolution on October 26, 1960)

VALIKA CEMENT FACTORY: A LANDMARK IN INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

I am glad to come here this afternoon and lay the foundation-stone of the Valika Cement Factory. This new venture is yet another landmark in the endeavours of the Valika family which has already done so much to enhance the industrial potential of Pakistan. I congratulate you, Mr. Fakhruddin, and your colleagues and wish you every success in your new enterprise.

The gigantic development programmes which are now being launched in Pakistan demand vast resources of men, money and materials for their fulfilment. This has to be a genuinely co-operative endeavour at the national level in which the humblest worker is as important and as worthy of esteem as any other man of wealth and power. This requires a radical change in our outlook and to bring this about it is necessary to build human character as much as large mills and factories.

Cement, as you have rightly pointed out, is the king-pin of all modern development programmes. I have no doubt that this new factory will start producing it in abundant measure before long. But there is also another type of cement which we require to strengthen the bonds of nationhood, patriotism, fair play, justice, integrity and generosity within Pakistan on the one hand and between Pakistan and the rest of mankind on the other. Unfortunately, this commodity cannot be manufactured in factories. It has got to be produced within our heads and hearts, and I appeal to all those whom fates have favoured with means and opportunities of service to invest as much in the common welfare

of our people as they can. This is the only way of marching forward in the trials and pressures of the modern age.

I thank you, Mr. Fakhruddin, and your colleagues for inviting me to lay the foundation-stone of your cement factory and I wish it a very fruitful and productive career.

(Speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Valika Cement Factory at Manghopir on October 28, 1960)

PAKISTAN AND THE ARAB WORLD

Let me assure you that by taking the stand on Israel we are not trying to do any special favour to anybody. This is not a question of national or international politics for us. This is, in fact, a matter of conviction and faith. Pakistan has always stood by the Arab cause and *Insha Allah*, we shall continue to do so in future as well. For this we seek no return and no reward except their goodwill.

People bound together by ties of faith can always resist the discordant pull of all other forces. And when that faith is Islam there should be no question of their falling apart because Islam itself is the essence of brotherhood in the face of differences, tolerance in face of provocation, understanding in face of misgivings and forgiveness in the face of anger.

So long as we can adhere to the cardinal attributes of Islam, no territorial, political or material considerations will separate Muslim from Muslim. It is my sincere and humble prayer that God may bless Muslims all over the world with unity of purpose and conviction which their faith enjoins and their destiny requires in the ideologically competitive world of today.

President Nasser's Visit

President Nasser's visit to Pakistan was a landmark in our relations. Today, I have brought for you and for the people of UAR a gift from the people of Pakistan. This gift is a bouquet of flowers which do not grow

on trees but which grow in the hearts of brothers and friends. Please accept this humble gift and let us both pray to God that these flowers of good-will and fraternity may never fade and their fragrance may always remain fresh.

(Speech at the State Banquet given by the UAR President at the Abadin Palace, Cairo, on November 6, 1960)

PAKISTAN AND UAR: TWO BROTHERLY COUNTRIES

Dear brothers and sisters: *Assalam-o-Alaikum.*

I am most grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of addressing you and may I, through you and through the millions of these instruments, thank your President, his Government and the people of the UAR for giving me such warm, brotherly and friendly welcome. I can assure you that I had no doubt in my mind before coming here that I was going to a brotherly country, to another Pakistan, where I shall be no stranger. Furthermore, your warmth for Pakistan, the people of Pakistan, is no less than warmth and admiration and good feelings they have for you and for your future. I am also very happy that under the leadership of your President, this country has already made a tremendous progress both in the agricultural and industrial fields. And I can see that if this pace is kept up, and there is no reason why it should not be kept up, *Insha Allah* this country will march to a very happy future.

Suez Crisis

Dear friends, reference has been made of misunderstanding between Pakistan and UAR during the period of the unfortunate Suez crisis. I think that it would only be right to tell you as to what some of us tried to do in order to ensure that the ranks do not take a serious turn.

I was at that time the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army and I was quite clear in my mind that after the declaration of the nationaliza-

tion of the Suez Canal, an invasion was coming into Egypt. This was a very serious thing indeed. And although it was no political concern of mine, I went to my Government, and I told them that days of extra-territorial rights in sovereign countries have gone—Suez belongs to the people of Egypt and they have every right to declare nationalization, but they owe a duty to the rest of the world that depends on the transit of trade through the Suez Canal, and at the same time they owe something to the people who own shares in the Suez Company, and so, therefore, everything possible must be done, politically, to let the tempers cool down, so that this danger of invasion is averted and these two problems, the matter of transit through the Canal and the matter of settlement of, shall we say, the cost of shares and so on, can take their natural course.

May be that some of our representatives, the clumsy, those who did not think clearly—may be that you must have misunderstood our moves, but I can assure you that every sensible man in Pakistan, and certainly the Pakistan Army, tried to do its best to ensure that the tragedy of invasion does not take place.

Kashmir Problem

Well, you were under pressure, and when people are under pressure, one gets hurt if one does not get the support from the friends in the manner you think it should be given, and I fully understand it: I think it is quite human to understand. But may I tell you that in our country too, some people complain against the Muslim World not giving us support in the gigantic struggle that Pakistan has been forced to go through by a very powerful neighbour next-door to us. We have been subjected, although I must say that lately our relations with India have improved considerably, to a pressure which you cannot really have the comprehension, apart from the Kashmir struggle, where the two armies are facing each other with loaded weapons even upto today. Some nine million refugees were thrown into Pakistan at the time when Pakistan came into being. You just imagine what nine million refugees mean when you consider the problem that is caused by about 3/4 of a million refugees from Palestine. So we, too, have been under pressure and we still are under pressure, and it is only natural that our people should at times complain and expect open and substantial support from the Muslim brethren all over the world. I have been telling people that, although I can fully understand the reason behind such an expectation,

one has got to be a realist and the realism is this: now it's a hard thing to say but one must face facts of life and the fact of life is that whether we like it or not, and we certainly should not like it, religion today is no longer the motive power as it used to be; it is national territorialism which is the motive power. So, therefore, it was unrealisticon the part of the people of Pakistan to expect that somebody else would come and resolve their problem, and I always used to say and I am saying it today, that Kashmir and our problem with India is our problem and *Insha Allah* we shall struggle on to resolve them in the most peaceful manner we can. The meaning of all that is this: that quite frankly when you are under pressure, and you have been under tremendous pressure, as we have been under tremendous pressure, people are bound to get little fussy, little sensitive, and apt to misunderstand each other. I often pray that between our two countries such a thing will never arise again, and that can only be done if we have mutual understanding with each other, if we meet more often, if we try and understand each other's problems, then I am sure we will begin to have sympathy for each other and the cause for a new complaint will be removed.

Having said that, may I tell you that we have never missed an occasion to support the Arab cause against Israel. And on every occasion we have done whatever was in our power to assist you morally and openly, and we mean to do so continually and as I have submitted before, we expect nothing in return from you: we expect your better future, your happiness and your security. And at the same time, being human, we expect that for all the support we can give, we do not want any credit, but at least that it is recognised and understood.

We also hope that the Arab World, like us, has got its independence after a long long struggle and a long time. This is a very dear possession of any human community. I hope, and we all hope, and pray that your mutual differences are resolved in a spirit of large-heartedness so that your resources which are very badly needed for development and progressive work are not diverted into negative things, and that your pace of progress is speeded up all over in the Arab World. This is our hope and prayer and I hope it will come true, and there is no reason why it should not, in spite of misunderstanding, that one sees from time to time.

March with the Times

There is another matter which I think is just as close and concerns

your mind, your thinking mind, as concerns us in Pakistan, which is that we maintain that our religion is a progressive religion: it is a religion that encourages the use of reason; it is a religion that should normally help us move forward with the time, and but for this yet, can you really say that it has happened? When one comes to think about it, when one casts a glance over the Muslim communities all over the world, they are the most backward, they are the most uneducated. . . . Is is not a matter of concern, and should it not be a matter of concern to all of us to try and find out what is it that has gone wrong? What is it that needs putting right? And I think that it is the task of every thinking Muslim to find out the reason, what is it that ought to be done to put this matter right and should have the moral courage to openly say as to what is wrong and how it should be put right. And I think it is very important for our religious community and our religious leaders, who have done a great service, mind you, in preserving the traditions of Islam, in spite of tremendous trials and tribulations. But can you say that their activities are today showing us how to get ourselves ready to march with the present time, and you might say—why must they tell us, and why is it necessary that we must march with the present time? And to that my answer is: that the law of Nature and the *Quran* tell you very clearly that those people who do not better themselves, do not move with the time—will perish—and that is the difference, if we do not move with the time, if we do not get ready to move with the time, recognise our defects, and remove them, we shall just go back again to slavery and this time these slaveries are going to last much longer, than anyone of us might think in terms of what happened in the past.

New Experiment

Finally, I might say it is a matter of real pleasure to have had the opportunity of seeing your people, the representatives of the people of your country, and to have had the opportunity of addressing you. We, too, in Pakistan, are trying to adopt the democratic system which our people can understand and work, and it is a very curious phenomenon that your leader and us have come to similar conclusions, although in details there may be differences as to what sort of institutions will be understood by our people and be capable of working them so that we can maintain stability, because stability is the essential requirement of new emergent countries, because the essential requirement is to develop,

and that really means that it can only happen if you have stable governments and you have people with will and courage. It cannot happen in the strains and stresses of the western democratic system.

Their development, if you study their history carefully, took place under almost a totalitarian system and so we have got to remember that if we have attained our independences, there is an object in attaining them, and the object is that we must do such things as will enable our people to better their lot and that really means education and development in every walk of life, but in order to do that, you have got to have consistency and that really comes down to this that you must have political stability in the country, and political stability can only appear if you have political institutions which people can understand and work. We, like you, adopted the western system of parliamentary democracy—it did not work in our country just as it did not work in your country.

I say to myself it is our fault, we are not ready; our circumstances are not what are required by our system to back it up, and so if you have not got those circumstances, is it wise that we should be risking our independence and our security, and so wisdom dictated that instead of repeating borrowed ideas of other people, we must get down to our own fundamentals, and recognise them and build up political institutions on sound solid bases, and once this is done, I have no doubt, *Insha Allah*, that countries that do that will prosper, will have stability, and will have all the good things that they can afford to have.

I finally thank you again for giving me this opportunity of addressing you, and at the same time let me tell you how much my heart has been touched by your warmth, and your friendship, and it will be my business when I go back to Pakistan to tell the people of Pakistan what good friends you are.

God bless you.

(*Address to the National Union Rally at the Cairo University on November 7, 1960*)

PAKISTAN—A PRODUCT OF ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

While looking after our material prosperity and progress, we in Pakistan, cannot ignore the fact that our country is the product of the ideology of Islam. This is the foremost justification for our existence and we cannot be true to Pakistan without being true to this ideology.

It is for this reason that we are trying to do all we can to promote a true and correct study and understanding of Islam in the context of modern science and knowledge.

We have recently established an Islamic Research Institute in Pakistan and our new educational system provides a fine blend between religious and secular instruction. We shall pursue these objectives vigorously but our efforts alone are not enough. In this we seek the co-operation of Cairo and Damascus, which hold centuries-old treasures of Islamic tradition of learning and enlightenment. It is in this common endeavour of projecting and promoting the meaning and practice of Islam in the light of the modern world that we can all co-operate and collaborate fully without infringing each other's national policies and international commitments.

Loyalty to Faith

Please do remember one thing. As Muslims we, all of us everywhere, owe to ourselves and Allah a loyalty which is higher than any other loyalty. This is loyalty to our faith. It is this greater loyalty which in

spite of all external discords and political disputes between Governments binds the Muslim peoples everywhere in the world in unbreakable and indivisible ties of mutual goodwill and sympathy. These ties are stronger and more valuable than diplomatic and political relationship and so long as they remain intact the persecution of Algerian patriots, the miseries of Palestine refugees, the sufferings of Kashmir people and the aggressive threat of Israel will always continue to evoke an equal response in the hearts of the entire Muslim *Millat*. Let us all pray that this reservoir of goodwill continues to grow deeper and larger and God may shield us from sacrificing it at the altar of momentary impulses or temporary expediencies.

Intellectual Stagnation

As we started getting more and more away from the spirit of religion and drifted into mere conformism, originality gave way to superficiality, reason gave way to superstition and courage for enquiry succumbed to blindfolded subservience to tradition. The kingdoms and the crowns, which the Muslims have lost in the course of history are far less important than the kingdom of free and searching mind which they have lost in the process of intellectual stagnation. The result was that while life kept moving onwards, knowledge and practice of Islam continued to lag centuries behind. Instead of remaining a complete and dynamic code of life, as it was intended to be, Islam thus became an object of external adoration to worship which one had to constantly look backward in a world which is moving constantly forward.

To liberate the spirit of religion from the cobwebs of superstition and stagnation which surround it and move it forward under the focus of modern science and knowledge is, therefore, one of the major demands on our system of education.

Foreign Domination

Another tragedy that befell countries like the UAR and Pakistan was the pang of foreign domination. The systems of education evolved for them were not intended for their benefit: they were on the contrary designed to suit the ends of the imperial rule. This resulted in a serious crisis of character which in turn led to complete socio-moral and political collapse of the values of life and conduct.

Move with the Times

Like the UAR, in Pakistan too, we are trying to overcome the evils of moral confusion, social stagnation and economic backwardness bequeathed by a long period of foreign subjugation. Now that we are blessed with independence, we have not only to catch up with this time-lag but we have also to prepare ourselves to move forward and keep pace with the fast-moving world of today and tomorrow. This, like you, is our major problem and I have no doubt that if we get a good long spell of peace and put in hard, sustained and well-planned work we are bound to make the grade.

Another sphere in which the Revolutions in our two countries have brought us together is that of political and constitutional realism and stability. It is remarkable that in our search for a sane and sensible system we in Pakistan have also reached a solution which bears close resemblance to the one which you have evolved here. One of my foremost declarations after the Revolution was that power will soon be handed over to the people under a system of democracy which they can understand and operate.

New Era of Reforms

We have been working ceaselessly during the last two years to discover and construct such a system. Before a system is raised, we have to prepare a sound base for it. With this object in view we introduced radical reforms in land-holdings, education, health, labour system, public administration etc. Side by side we have created a net-work of political institutions throughout the country which have their roots right in the heart of the rural population.

Educational Reforms

Of all the reforms which have been introduced in Pakistan, I feel personally proud of our educational reforms. The philosophy behind these reforms is the recognition of the fact that an abundant and increasing supply of properly educated people has become the absolute prerequisite of social and economic development in the present day world. It is rapidly becoming a condition of national survival.

No society can be fully effective if its members are educated less than the limit of their potential. So the basic principle underlying our

reforms is that everybody must be able to receive full education not according to his or her needs but according to his or her merit and potential, according to the requirements of the country.

The implementation of these reforms will, no doubt, put a great strain on our meagre resources but it is my belief that education has become a most advanced form of capital investment today.

According to the rules of economics, the basic capital investment of the society must be given priority over all avenues of national income excepting only national defence. It is on this basis that I propose to tackle educational reforms in Pakistan, and I have no doubt in my mind that as a result of this our future generations will, *Insha Allah*, be far superior to us.

(Extracts from the speech delivered after the conferment of the honorary Degree of Ph.D. by the University of Cairo, on November 9, 1960)

MEDICAL PROFESSION: A MISSION OF MERCY

I am very happy indeed to participate in the centenary celebrations of the King Edward Medical College, Lahore. This is a memorable day in the life of an institution which had contributed richly to the welfare of this sub-continent in terms of medical education, practical training and the total volume of production over a period of one hundred years.

While paying our tribute to all those who have laboured hard during this long period to build up the standards and traditions of this great College, let us also pray that it will have many more centuries of still brighter and more glorious career in the service of free Pakistan. Throughout the century of its existence, the part played by the products of this College in promoting the health and happiness of life in the sub-continent has been really memorable and we can all be truly proud of this magnificent record of service.

Conditions of life are changing so fast all over the world, in general, and in a country like Pakistan, in particular, that the medical profession—like all other professions—has to face many new and unforeseen demands. We have already lost many valuable years without paying any serious attention to the reconstruction of the life of the nation in conformity with the requirements of a free and independent society. We have now to make up for all this time-lag and prepare ourselves to move forward in the fast-moving world of today and tomorrow. This calls for a concentrated effort on the part of each and every citizen of Pakistan whatever the station or profession of his or her life.

Target

Our target is to create a balanced state of life in our country in which the material, mental, moral, physical and spiritual values are in full harmony with one another. All the reforms which we have launched in the field of administration, education, health, law and agrarian system and the gigantic development programmes included in the Second Five-Year Plan are intended to provide a base for the achievement of this target.

Trained Manpower

One of the most important materials for this process of national reconstruction is properly trained manpower with a progressive, patriotic and dedicated attitude of mind. It is in this connection that a great burden of responsibility rests on the shoulders of the medical profession.

In the first place, the present tendency on the part of medical graduates to avoid going to remoter rural areas where amenities of life are naturally limited, must vanish. The bulk of our population lives and toils in villages and hamlets with poor incomes, poor sanitation and poor means of communications. They constitute the main arteries for the supply of life-blood which sustains the glory and glamour you see and enjoy in the larger cities. They are the backbone of our economy and if they are allowed to languish or decay, the entire super-structure of national sustenance will fall to pieces. It is, therefore, imperative to look after their health and welfare as best as we can, and I would appeal to doctors and lady doctors to shed their prejudice against going into rural areas even at the cost of a certain amount of personal comfort.

Cheap Medical Aid

Secondly, it is essential to make medical attention as cheap as possible. Unfortunately, the lust for easy money and high profits which developed in our country during the past few years infected all walks of life, including the humanitarian professions. Commercialisation of all professions is understandable and permissible upto a degree only. Beyond this degree, at least the medical profession should render itself immune from unreasonable greed. It is the poor man who is always vulnerable to infirmities and frailties of the body, and it is the poor man who is unable to pay for the best medical facilities and consultations which

exist around him. No official rules and regulations can finally break this vicious circle. It is for the profession itself to evolve a code of ethics which is not a slave of the paying purse alone.

Human Relations

Finally, I would appeal to doctors to supplement their medical skill with kindness of heart, tenderness of feeling, love of man and fear of God. These attributes are a great, healing balm in all human relations; but nowhere else are they needed more than in the mission of mercy which the medical profession has to perform.

I thank you again for giving me this opportunity of addressing you on this great day, and I hope and pray that this College may continue to progress and thrive in the service of our dear country.

(Inaugural speech at the Centenary Celebrations of the King Edward Medical College, Lahore, on November 16, 1960)

APPEAL FOR EAST PAKISTAN CYCLONE VICTIMS

My personal visit to the cyclone affected areas in East Pakistan has impressed upon me the magnitude of the recent disasters. Apart from human casualties, the loss of cattle, houses and agricultural property is very serious indeed. My Government has already granted Rs. 1,41,00,000 for the relief of the victims. But I am convinced that these disasters call for a national effort to find all the funds required to restore normalcy to the affected areas and to provide long-term relief to the widows, orphans and those who have lost their means of livelihood.

I have, therefore, decided to associate myself personally with a national fund for the relief of the victims. It will be called the President's East Pakistan Relief Fund. Besides myself, the Governors of East and West Pakistan, the Finance Minister, the Industries Minister, the Commerce Minister and the Minister for the Interior will be members of the Committee formed to administer the Fund. The Auditor-General of Pakistan will be the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of this Fund.

Sub-Committees will be set up in the provinces and at Karachi to organise the collection of funds. Non-officials will be associated with these sub-committees. Remittances may be sent to the Auditor-General of Pakistan at Karachi by crossed cheque made out in favour of the "President's East Pakistan Relief Fund".

All branches of the National Bank of Pakistan, all branches of the Habib Bank and all Post Offices will receive cash donations from those who are not in a position to send cheques. They will issue a receipt forthwith. A formal receipt will be issued by the Honorary Treasurer

of the Fund when the money is received by him.

Donations already made to the Governor's Relief Fund will be taken over by my Committee for administration and expenditure according to approved plans.

I open the account with a personal donation of Rs. 2,000. I appreciate the donations already made, but I feel that there is need to make a renewed effort to mobilise the help which all sympathetic and feeling people in this country and abroad want to render for the relief of the unfortunate victims.

The requirements of the situation call for more than what has already been given and I appeal to my countrymen and to our friends abroad to give generously for this cause. All donations will qualify for relief from income tax.

(Appeal for donations to the East Pakistan Relief Fund issued from Rawalpindi on November 24, 1960)

GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT OF SURPLUS MANPOWER

I would have been very happy to address your Commission personally, but I regret my inability to do so on account of certain pre-occupations. I am, therefore, asking you to convey on my behalf these few words to the members of the Commission.

As you know, human material is the most valuable asset which a country can possess. It is, therefore, for the country to preserve, shape and utilise this material most wisely and if I may say tenderly. Thus, your responsibility is at once immense and important. You will have to suggest how to preserve this material from decay, how to shape it for our national objectives and how to make the best use of that part of it which you may decide to define as surplus.

Our country has to develop fast in order to catch up with other advanced nations of the world. And in this process we hope to utilise an ever increasing number of people. But the growth of population on the one hand and the inadequacy of money and material on the other imposes severe limitations on the number of persons who could be gainfully employed.

While it is impossible to eliminate un-employment and under-employment completely anywhere in the world, it should be your endeavour to suggest how the hitherto un-utilised manpower resources can be organised and inducted into some of the other forms of gainful employment.

I fully realise that this problem is much more difficult than it appears to be. Even to define it you will have to study and deliberate a lot. To

produce a practical plan for utilisation of surplus manpower is going to be still more difficult.

You may have to enlist the help of some of the best brains available in the country. But I pray and I am sure that you shall prove equal to the task. What I am saying is not sentiment alone. It is a reiteration of the sincere promise which the present regime made to the people, namely the establishment of a welfare and a pro gressive State.

I can assure you that the successful completion of your task will constitute one of the major and most important steps which this regime can take in the fulfilment of its cherished goal.

I shall be watching the deliberations and progress of your commission with interest and I shall be keenly looking forward to your recommendations.

I wish you Godspeed.

(Message sent to the Surplus Manpower Commission for its meeting held in Rawalpindi on November 25, 1960)

PAKISTAN NAVY—A WEAPON OF DEFENCE

The presentation of the National Standard marks a very solemn occasion in the life of Pakistan Navy. I congratulate you all on this memorable day and pray that God Almighty may grant you the courage and fortitude to keep this flag flying.

Since the birth of man, the concept of national honour has invariably been symbolised in the form of national flags. Humanity has risen to incredible heights of valour and sacrifice in defending and promoting the honour of flags.

For us Muslims, this institution was consecrated by the Holy Prophet himself (peace be on him) who devised a standard of Islam and put it in the vanguard of his crusades for faith. So, therefore, both as Muslims and as the citizens of a free State we are in the best of traditions where the dignity and the honour of our National Standard is concerned.

The Pakistan Navy is as young as our country itself. But even in this short span of period, it has developed traditions which are second to none both as a striking force and as a weapon of defence.

The debt of gratitude which our nation owes to its Armed Services is shared in equal measure by the Navy and you can rest assured that the good wishes and the prayers of the whole country are with you in your progress and achievements.

Geographically and otherwise, Pakistan occupies an important position in the field of global strategy. To the question of our own defence is added the role which we are capable of playing in the maintenance of peace and goodwill in the turbulent world of today.

This is an onerous responsibility which requires all the wisdom and strength of character of our nation to discharge fully and effectively. I have no doubt that with the magnificent manpower we have, we shall, *Insha Allah*, prove ourselves equal to the mission which destiny has assigned us.

Once again I congratulate you all on receiving the National Standard today, and the prayer which rises from the core of my heart on this occasion is: May God bless you.

(Speech at the presentation ceremony of the National Standard to the Pakistan Navy at PNS Karsaz, Drigh Road, on November 28, 1960)

RED CROSS MOVEMENT: A FINE EXAMPLE OF SELF-HELP

I am glad to welcome the delegates to this Combined Annual General Meeting of the Pakistan Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance.

Red Cross Movement which celebrated its Centenary last year can look back with pride, on the 100 years that it has devoted to the pursuit of its noble objectives. It has faced many a challenge in war and peace, and emerged triumphant in its humanitarian endeavours. Yet, no challenge is greater than the one presented today by the threat of a thermo-nuclear war. I trust that the International Red Cross will also accept this challenge with its traditional courage and take concrete steps to build up a popular movement among its member nationals in favour of universal peace to avoid the terrible and possible total annihilation threatened by nuclear warfare.

The activities of the Pakistan Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association (Pakistan) and the St. John Ambulance Brigade (Pakistan) during the year 1959, as outlined by the Chairman, presented a fine example of self-help which must be emulated by other non-official bodies in the country. I am glad to see that these three organisations work in close harmony and that their efforts have made very substantial contribution to the useful programmes of the public health authorities in the medico-social field.

I am glad that the Pakistan Red Cross Juniors have continued to be active during the year under review. The Junior Red Cross can play a

very important role by teaching school children elementary principles of health and hygiene which will enable them to acquire the habit of cleanliness. The Junior Red Cross can also play a valuable part in fostering international friendship among the younger generations of different countries.

I am pleased that the Florence Nightingale Medal has been awarded by the International Committee of Red Cross to a Pakistani nurse. Shortage of nurses is an acute problem in Pakistan and we need large numbers of qualified and trained nursing staff for our hospitals. Our young ladies, of late, have shown some interest in the nursing profession but, by and large, we are short of nurses as compared with the country's need. I appeal to our educated girls to come forward to take up the noble profession of nursing and thus help in filling the gap in this vital field of national importance.

The prompt relief measures taken by the Pakistan Red Cross in the cyclone affected areas in East Pakistan are highly praiseworthy. The shipment of the Red Cross relief supplies sent by the National Headquarters was the first to reach Chittagong from West Pakistan. Our thanks are due to the League of Red Cross Societies, Geneva, for making an appeal to the National Red Cross Societies abroad which sent aid in cash and kind.

It is re-assuring that the instructional work of the St. John Ambulance Association (Pakistan) marked an increase during 1959. The need of trained First Aiders is felt even in the Western countries which are far more advanced and have larger numbers of doctors. In Pakistan, where there is a great dearth of qualified medical personnel, the First Aiders are a blessing to the people.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank all honorary workers of the Pakistan Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association (Pakistan) and the St. John Ambulance Brigade (Pakistan) for their voluntary services in alleviating the sufferings of the people.

I wish your activities every success in the years to come, and hope they will keep pace with the expanding needs of our country under the new development programmes which are now in the process of being launched.

(*Address to the Annual General Meeting of Pakistan Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association in Karachi on December* 22, 1960)

ROTARY SPIRIT: A GREAT ASSET TO ANY COUNTRY

I am indeed grateful to you for inviting me to be present here this evening and also for the very kind reference you have made to me personally. The Rotary spirit is, indeed, a great asset to any country as it stands for universal fellow-feeling, comradeship. You have every reason to be proud of this institution which has played a noteworthy part in the promotion of goodwill and better understanding among the peoples of the world. The individual Rotarian, I believe, tries to live according to social ideal which radiates happiness and good cheer all round and thus tends to soften the rough edges of life. This in itself is a thing of no mean value.

Ladies and gentlemen, it has been my endeavour to make my humble contribution to the cause of peace and friendly relationships in the world of which we are but a small part and it does my heart good to think that you appreciate my efforts in this direction, although I feel that you have been rather too generous in bestowing your praise upon me.

I am happy that you share my desire for a peaceful way of life for nations in general and neighbours in particular. I am convinced that this is the only way in which we can serve humanity and better the living conditions of our own people. Pakistan, in particular, needs a long spell of peace to catch up with the time we have lost during a whole century of foreign domination. I am looking forward hopefully to an order in which justice and reason will prevail and force will no longer be the sole arbiter of destinies in international disputes. By this change of heart

and attitude, an atmosphere of world peace will be produced which will lead to the elimination of wasteful expenditure on armaments, so that Governments can harness all these resources to constructive purposes for the good of the common man.

But the problem is: how to bring about this change of heart and mind?

The world today—particularly the big powers—are torn by mutual suspicions and misgivings. More often than not, there is lamentable lack of decorum when they are dealing with each other even on international forums. There are no common standards of world ethics and society at large seems to be hanging precariously on the brink of a complete moral chaos.

To a large extent, the two world wars during which many human values were brutally shattered, have been the cause of this state of affairs. Besides, the incredible advancement of science has also unleashed a relentless pursuit of materialism and made it almost the sole object of life. To decry material progress would indeed be the height of stupidity. What is really needed is to mellow it through moral and spiritual values. We, in Pakistan, believe that our religion gives us the means to do that if we are prepared to separate the chaff from the grain and the principles from the methods.

We have embarked on this task by remodelling our system of education and by the creation of such other media as the Islamic research centres and so on. But one wonders, whether, that is enough and whether they will produce the desired results in time. In these matters, time is of the essence. The tragedy is that as education becomes more universal and the people develop critical and searching attitudes, they are likely to deviate more and more from religion because the way it is presented does not always appeal to the thinking mind. Human nature, in its essence, is unchangeable and it is always in need of an ideology which is appealing and convincing in the light of the requirements of the times and the state of human development. To project our ideology in this fashion is the task ahead of us and I would like to put it to all patriotic and thinking men and women in this country to give their serious thought to this matter and do all they can to promote and propagate it. If we can do that—and there is no reason why we should not—I have no doubt that we shall be able to canalise our destiny in the right direction with obvious material and spiritual advantages and besides this, we might well set an example to others who are bedevilled by similar problems.

Mr. Chairman, you have been good enough to recall my past asso-

ciation as an honorary rotarian of the Rawalpindi Club and I can assure you that my reminiscences of this are a source of personal satisfaction to me. Ladies and Gentlemen, I need hardly tell you that I will continue to take a keen interest in the welfare of the Rotary Movement in Pakistan.

I thank you once again for the honour you have done me by inviting me to this great function.

(Address at the Rotary Conference in Lahore on December 24, 1960)

BOY SCOUTS MOVEMENT: A UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD OF YOUTH

I am very happy to be here with you to inaugurate the Third National Jamboree. This gathering of youth, representing Pakistan, as well as many other countries, is a very heartening spectacle indeed. And while you are together, during this period of the Jamboree, may your happy association develop into lasting friendships in the larger interest of the Scouts movement.

I am very glad that the Pakistan Boy Scouts Association has now a permanent building for their national headquarters. I trust our brother-scouts from other lands will find the Scouts' hostel at Karachi a convenient place to spend their time in, when they get after the Jamboree.

Scouting is a movement; it cannot, therefore, afford to stand still. It must move forward and keep abreast of the times. The need for improving training facilities for Boy Scouts is real. The sooner we establish a National Training Centre the better.

Everywhere in the free world, Scouting has come to be regarded as an essential part of the training of young people. It is the young men of today who, imbued with the spirit of universal brotherhood, can make the world a safe and happy place to live in. I am sure that the seminars, reunions and camp-fires, which form a major part of the Jamboree programme, will promote among the young men *esprit de corps* which is the basis of all fruitful activity.

The Boy Scouts movement need not remain confined to the cities. I would like to see special efforts being made in Pakistan to spread

scouting in rural areas as well.

And now, brother-Scouts, I wish you all that is best—good camping, fun and fellowship, healthy competition, and rollicking camp-fires.

I have great pleasure in declaring the Third Pakistan National Jamboree open.

(Inaugural Address at the Third National Jamboree at W.P. Boy Scouts Headquarter in Lahore, on December 24, 1960)

ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF COLLEGE: A NEW ENTERPRISE

The inauguration of the Pakistan Administrative Staff College marks the birth of a new enterprise in which senior executives from the public services, public corporations and other private sectors will, for the first time, live in residence together to discuss and deliberate over the multiple problems with which we in Pakistan are faced today.

The idea to establish a College of this nature emerged out of the compelling need to give a static administration its dynamic dimension. The system of stereotype administration which we inherited was devised over a 100 years ago to suit the purpose of a colonial power. Its fundamental emphasis was on the maintenance of law and order and one of the many ways in which this object was fulfilled was to create a superior class of somewhat de-nationalised individuals who could maintain proper distances and rule with awe and disdain under the cover of public service. It was a perfect system for the purpose for which it was intended, but the demands of an independent society are entirely different.

As you are no doubt aware, human society developed from the stage of cave-man to the family structure; from family structure to feudalism; from feudalism to capitalism; and from capitalism it has blossomed into diverse material channels like communism, socialism and the concept of a welfare State. In Pakistan we have not yet reached even the stage of capitalism. We have, therefore, to make a big jump and develop into a social welfare State which in fact is the inevitable demand of the ideology on the basis of which this country has come into being. The

extent to which we can reach this target expeditiously is the real touch-stone of all our developmental programmes and administrative reforms.

Role of Administrators

With the growing involvement of Government in many new spheres of social life, the role of administrators—whether in civil service, business or industry—has to assume fresh techniques and attitudes. The old sense of rulership has to yield place to a new sense of service and this requires a high quality of leadership based on honesty, humility and a creative application of one's mind and heart. In this context, the essential prerequisites of a worthwhile administrator are a ceaseless urge to invent and organise new fields of development; ability to bridge the gulf between the Government and the people; and a genuine endeavour to stimulate the broad mass of our population, and goad and guide them on the path of progress, enlightenment and responsibility.

This College is intended to cater for these paramount needs of the highest class of public and business executives. For the public executives it would be an occasion to assess the administrative techniques and evaluate the administrative measures in the light of international events, new advances in the social and physical sciences, experiences and experiments and above all, the aspirations of the people. The decision to provide these facilities for business executives is a healthy step as it would afford them an opportunity to look beyond their restricted and specialised spheres of commercial interests and to appreciate the true role of private sector in the field of national development. This experiment would bring together public and business executives and thus narrow the distances that exist at present in the approach and outlook of these sectors.

I have noted that in your syllabus the Principal has given you the opportunity to consider the attitudes of mind, the qualities and the standards of behaviour required of men in positions of responsibility. Ethical and moral standards need to be set high in our country to prosper, and I cannot over-emphasise the desirability of senior officers setting the highest possible examples for others in the maintenance of these standards.

I pin great faith in this enterprise as a means of developing the strength and quality of men who must play an increasing part in resolving our national problems and leading the country to the goals that we

have set for ourselves. To those who have been privileged to join the first session of the College, I have to say that it is you who will lay the foundation-stone on which this College will rise. It is you who, by the spirit in which you tackle the work put before you by the Principal and his staff, by the confidence you build in each other, and by the discipline that you set for yourselves, will really cause this College to play its destined role. You set your standards high so that others may follow and build on secure foundations.

In the quiet and serene environments of this College, you will be free from the chores of the home, (and worries from your wives, I hope), free from the telephones and the files and the decisions which are part of the daily round, free to devote yourselves to the work that is put before you and to re-think your own attitudes. So take the fullest advantage of this opportunity and when you go out, practise what you have learnt here.

Mr. Principal, I have followed with great interest the preparations and efforts that have gone into the establishment of this College. I have no doubt that this College will fulfil its object and shall grow from strength to strength. I wish you Godspeed.

(Inaugural Address at the Administrative Staff College, Lahore, on December 24, 1960)

MESSAGE TO STUDENTS' CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

It gives me great pleasure to learn from the Chairman of the Students' Christian Movement of Pakistan that the Students' Christian Movement of India, Pakistan and Ceylon are holding their Triennial Conference at Lahore this year.

Social service and national and social problems are among the subjects that will come under discussion at the Conference. Christians have great traditions of social service and I, therefore, feel sure that the community, more specially the young Christian students, have important part to play in promoting the prosperity of the young countries to which they belong.

I wish the deliberations of the Conference every success.

This is the first time, the Students' Conference has met in Pakistan. Every facility is being afforded by the Government for the holding of the Conference.

About 300 students, University professors and youth leaders will be gathering in Lahore on December 24, for the third Triennial Conference of the Students' Christian Movement of Pakistan, India and Ceylon.

The Student's Christian Movement is a worldwide student fellowship whose aim is to interpret the Christian faith in universities and to discover the role of Christians in the modern world. It is at present conducting a worldwide study project, covering a period of seven years, known as "the life and missions of the church".

The present Conference, which will draw together Christian students

and leaders from Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Iran and other countries, has the purpose both of studying the unchanging doctrines of Christian faith, and also of discovering how Christians in different countries of Asia are called to live and serve and proclaim their faith.

(Message to the Third Triennial Conference of the Students, Christian Movement held in Lahore on December 24, 1960)

MESSAGE TO THE ARMED FORCES

Brave officers and men of Pakistan's Armed Forces: *Assalam-o-Alaikum.*

The Armed Forces Day is being celebrated throughout the country today. On this occasion I offer my heartfelt greetings to the officers and men of Pakistan's Army, Navy and Air Force.

With the grace of God our country has been progressing in every field for the last two years. Many of the faults which had weakened us internally and had earned a bad name for us externally have been rectified to a large extent.

We have ambitious development programmes and, *Insha Allah*, there shall be a new wave of prosperity in the country when these are implemented. The whole nation takes pride in you for the services rendered by Pakistan's Armed Forces in bringing about this happy change.

More recently our Eastern Wing was struck with a calamity in the shape of cyclones. Our Armed Forces have done a wonderful job in this connection and the whole country is grateful to you for it. We also take pride in the fact that our ex-Servicemen are also taking an equally active part in developing the country. The experience gained by them during their terms of service in the Armed Forces is proving very useful in their personal and social lives. I am confident that they will work together with more and more zeal and will not only prove themselves better citizens but will also help improve and enlighten their environments.

I pray to God for the progress and prosperity of Pakistan Army,

Navy and Air Force and that He may grant all of us an opportunity to serve our beloved country. *Amen.*

Pakistan Paindabad.

(*Message to the Armed Forces on the occasion of the Armed Forces Day on January* 8, 1961)

INAUGURATION OF PAKISTAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

Professor Sharif, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very happy indeed to be present here this morning to inaugurate the 8th session of the Pakistan Philosophical Congress.

I am grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for all the kind things you have said about me in your address. I do not think I am qualified to talk to a galaxy of scholars like you who belong to a class which has produced people like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Ghazzali, Ibn-i-Seena and many others who not only defined the foundations of human thought and conduct but also manifested their capacity to face persecution and even lay down their lives in defence of their honest convictions.

Undoubtedly, philosophy is one of the greatest and after religion probably the greatest institution which aims at the enlightenment of the mind and soul and discipline of instincts and emotions for the collective good of mankind, irrespective of whether the process of its assimilation is fast or slow, visible or invisible.

But if you permit me to say so as a layman, I wonder whether in our own times philosophy, which as Professor Sharif has rightly pointed out, deals with facts as well as values, has been able to keep pace with the staggering advancement which science has made and is till making.

On the one hand, we have science probing into the atom and the space and outer-space and opening up new domains of knowledge which can energise, enrich and illuminate human life to an incredible extent; on the other, we have the sorry spectacle of men and nations pouncing

on each new discovery to convert it into a weapon of threat and destruction. This does reflect a serious imbalance between the material progress and moral culture of the man of today.

To my mind, one of the many reasons for this regrettable lack of balance is that whereas the principles and products of science find an immediate application to life in one form or another, it is not always so with the abstractions of philosophy. In spite of the fact that philosophy covers such wide fields of human behaviour as metaphysics, ethics, logic etc., it has a tendency to put itself on an ivory-tower of great height and assume a role which is theoretical and dogmatic rather than practical and pragmatic.

This situation is almost parallel to the case of religion in the context of modern life. The great and immutable principles of religion are failing to produce their full impact on life mainly because the methods of their application are out of step with the pace of changing times. The result is an ever-widening gulf between life and religion to the utter disadvantage of both.

Religion and Philosophy

I believe that real fullness of life can be achieved only by bringing about a workable and effective balance and co-ordination between the forces of religion, philosophy and science. If the first two fail to assert their full weight, the chances are that the uncontrollable monster of science will submerge mankind under stark materialism attended by complete moral and spiritual anarchy leading perhaps to total destruction. It is only religion backed by a rational and pragmatic philosophy, that can save the world from such a harrowing destiny.

So, ladies and gentlemen, this is the great challenge before the philosophers of today. I hope that, in addition to its other routine business, this Congress will be able to pay its special attention to this great problem of our times.

With this hope, I have great pleasure in inaugurating the 8th session of the Pakistan Philosophical Congress and wish the deliberations the best of luck.

Thank you.

(*Inaugural speech at the eighth session of Pakistan Philosophical Congress held at the Karachi University Campus, on January* 11, 1961)

MESSAGE TO SCIENCE CONFERENCE

It gives me great pleasure to know that the 13th annual session of the All Pakistan Science Conference is being held in the historic city of Dacca under the chairmanship of Pakistan's most distinguished scientist Prof. Abdus Salam. I am sorry that owing to the coincidence of my State visit to Yugoslavia and Western Germany, which starts from tomorrow, and inauguration of Science Conference, I am unable to be present personally.

All of yo . know how keen my Government is to promote the cause of science and technology in Pakistan. The Scientific Commission, which was appointed by me, has very carefully deliberated some of the problems and difficulties faced by our scientists, engineers, doctors and technicians.

The report of this Commission is now actively under consideration and I trust that there will be no delay in the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission which are finally accepted by my Government.

From there onwards, it will be the task and duty of our scientists to show to the world that if given proper conditions for work, they can face the challenge of poverty of Pakistan and help to accelerate the programme of economic development of the country. We have a long leeway to make and I am convinced that through the adoption of scientific and technological methods it is possible to attain a better standard of life for the millions of our people.

I would look forward to the deliberations of the Conference and the

contributions which the distinguished scientists of Pakistan and other friendly countries who have come to attend this Conference would make in solving our problems. I wish the Conference every success.

(Message to the 13th annual Session of All Pakistan Science Conference on January 11, 1961)

CENSUS INFORMATION: VITAL FOR FUTURE PLANNING

The next few weeks will see the culmination of more than year's planning by the Census Commission. During this time, called the Enumeration Period, which lasts from the 12th of January until dawn on the 1st of February, more than two hundred thousand Census Enumerators will be at work throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan. They will visit each and every one of you in your homes wherever you may be from the remotest hamlet in the Chittagong Hill Tracts to the Khyber Pass, and from the lonely Mekran coast to Sylhet.

The objective of the Census is to record certain information about every living person in the country—man, woman and child. There are 22 questions and correct answers to them will provide a solid foundation on which our future planning will very largely depend. Some of the more obvious uses to which Census information is put are the formation of electoral constituencies, the estimation of our food requirements and the rate of growth of our population.

The standard of living in a community is directly measured by its per capita income. The national income of Pakistan is increasing, but so is the population. Thus, in order to raise our standard of living more rapidly than is being achieved at present, we must control the rate of growth of our population. The Census will tell us exactly how fast our population is growing and will bring home clearly to you how it is absolutely necessary to adopt family planning in an effective way. Let us have quality, not just quantity.

Don't be shy of answering the questions which will be put to you

by your Enumerator; these are all simple questions and he is sworn to secrecy and is liable to punishment under the law if he divulges any of your replies to an unauthorised person. You also, however, are under a legal obligation to answer the Census questions truthfully to the best of your knowledge.

This gigantic enterprise is being undertaken to help the advancement of Pakistan as a whole, and its successful completion will add to the future prosperity and well-being of every living person in Pakistan. I would ask you, therefore, to extend the utmost co-operation to your Enumerator who is performing this arduous duty in addition to his normal work as a labour of love for his country.

To our army of Census Enumerators, Supervisors and Charge Superintendents, I would say, "Good luck; your country is relying on the accuracy of your work during the next twenty days, so give it first priority for the advancement of the Nation".

(Broadcast to the Nation on the eve of Census on January 12, 1961)

FUNDAMENTALS OF PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

Pakistan's foreign policy is based on simple fundamentals. We seek cordial relations with all countries and are willing to collaborate with them to the fullest extent in the promotion of international amity and harmony as stated by the Founder of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah. We believe in the principles of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution for the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.

This shows that although we may differ in approach to some international issues, our purposes and objectives are essentially the same. We fully share your apprehensions over the situations prevailing in the Congo and Laos. We believe that colonialism in all its forms, whether classical or modern, not only constitutes a danger to peace but is also a violation of the human spirit. We unreservedly and categorically condemn it.

On our part, we have welcomed the emergence of the newly liberated countries and have offered them our sincere friendship. We look forward to the time when the last subject nation will have shaken off trammels of bondage. We are fully conscious of the annihilatory power of modern weapons and regard general and complete disarmament as an imperative of peace.

Nuclear Weapons

We also attribute great importance to the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and to a permanent cessation of the tests with such weapons. We are also in agreement with you regarding the necessity of urgently bridging the economic gap between the developed and under-developed countries of the world. In the interest of world peace, and for the benefit of mankind, we believe that aid should be given either by bilateral arrangement which should have no political or other connotations, or as suggested by you, through the United Nations.

Pakistan and Yugoslavia

There is such a wide measure of agreement between Yugoslavia and Pakistan on a variety of international problems and above all we are joined together in our mutual desire to work for peace and the happiness of the people of this world.

Pakistan like Yugoslavia, was facing many of the problems that Yugoslavia has successfully overcome. At the time of independence, Pakistan received her full share of the legacy of colonial rule—poverty, illiteracy and moral confusion.

After a promising start under the two great leaders, the Quaid-i-Azam and the Quaid-i-Millat, the country faltered in its attempts to work a political system, which it did not fully understand, under a leadership which was by no means of the first quality. The economy of the country deteriorated and the moral fibre of the people was weakened. But in the last two years of the Revolutionary Government, we have attempted to the best of our ability to make up for the lost time and to create a clean pattern for the progress and prosperity of the nation.

Basic Democracies

One of the first declarations that I made after the October Revolution was that the power will soon be handed over to the people under a system of democracy which they can understand and operate. After two years of intense efforts, we believe, we have found the answer to our problems through our system of basic democracies. It is an attempt to evolve a political framework related to the conditions of the country in conformity with our requirements and suited to the genius of our

people. In order to provide a sound base for the building up of this system, we have introduced a number of radical reforms in land-holdings, education, health, labour conditions, public administration and in other fields.

Reforms

Our land reforms are designed to correct economic mal-adjustments in agriculture and to bring social justice and the promise of a better future for our peasants, who constitute eighty five per cent of our population. Our educational reforms have as their aim the total eradication of illiteracy and the production of abundant and increased supply of educated people, which I believe is a prerequisite of social and economic development in the present-day world.

Along with these reforms, a network of political institutions has been created throughout the country which reaches right down to the common man in the village. In order to improve the living standard of our people we have introduced last year our Second Five-Year Plan. And for the achievement of the economic goals laid down in this Plan we require the generous assistance of our friends. I am sure that your very valuable experience in the implementation of these Plans will be of great benefit to Pakistan.

(Extracts from the speech at Marshal Tito's luncheon in Belgrade on January 13, 1961)

RECONSTRUCTION OF WEST GERMANY: AN EXAMPLE FOR PAKISTAN

It is a sad commentary on the culture of the modern age which claims to be so advanced in many ways that the right of self-determination is still not fully recognised by everybody everywhere. As you have stated you are having experience of this in your own country. In Pakistan, too, we are passing through a similar experience in the case of Kashmir.

There are some other areas also where this fundamental right is being denied to oppressed peoples. This denial is a slur on the conscience of the whole world and no advancement in science, technology and other material progress can wash or cover this ugly stigma. Moreover, the continued existence of these pockets of tyranny and injustice constitutes a grave and standing menace to world peace. We hope and pray that sooner rather than later these dangerous sores will disappear and the world of today will be able to match its material progress with its moral and ethical conduct.

I have had very illuminating and encouraging talks with His Excellency, the Chancellor, and his colleagues and I hope that our collaboration in these fields is likely to increase still further to our mutual advantage.

The miracle of post-war reconstruction, which you have performed in your country, holds an example for people like us to emulate. Although Pakistan did not directly suffer the ravages of the last war, yet the upheavals which followed in the wake of our independence in 1947 were quite devastating. As a newly born country without any organised

system of administration and resources, we were immediately faced with a mass of over nine million refugees who poured across our borders in a state of appalling distress.

In the last two years we have attempted to the best of our ability to move forward on the road of material as well as moral progress. We are fully conscious that in a country like ours which has to make up for so much lost time, no major development can be executed without the fullest participation of the peoples at all levels of work and responsibility. Our system of Basic Democracy has been devised to ensure this participation. All other reforms in the fields of agriculture, land-holdings, administration, law, education etc. are intended to provide a broad base for the success of this system. The essential prerequisite of our future constitution, which is now in the making, is to produce a political system which we can understand and work with and which is capable of establishing strong and stable governments.

Mr. President, what a country like Pakistan needs most is a long spell of peace and stability not only in our own country but also in the world at large. Our internal and external policies are, therefore, all directed towards, the achievement of this goal. This explains our alignment with the free world and our entry into defence alliances.

We do not believe in going only a part of the way in our friendship. We are simple and direct people. And when we make friends we do so with sincerity and devotion.

(Speech delivered at the Dinner of the West German President, Mr. Heinrich Leubke in Bonn on January 17, 1961)

UNIVERSITIES' ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEATO COUNTRIES

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It gives me great pleasure to address this Conference of Heads of Universities of the SEATO countries.

I welcome you, members of this distinguished gathering, most warmly to my country. Pakistan's climate is very pleasant these days and I hope you will enjoy yourselves during your stay here. Our educational climate, too,is pleasant and refreshing as the stage has been set for implementation of far-reaching reforms in our educational system.

This Conference, I understand, has been convened as a part of the cultural relations programme of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation and is aimed at strengthening the ties of amity and goodwill already existing among the member countries. I am happy that some countries outside this region are also participating in the deliberations of this Conference. Your deliberations and decisions, therefore, would be of great interest to a very large section of Asian regions.

The address of His Excellency Mr. Sarasin has very ably brought out many issues and problems connected with the practical co-operation of Universities of the South-East Asian regions, and I am sure,this Conference will duly attend to his observations.

As for myself, I must admit that I do not consider myself an expert to speak from such a learned forum. On your part, all of you have devoted long and distinguished careers to your noble profession, and I have no doubt that each one of you would make a very useful contribu-

tion to the deliberations of the Conference.

Most of the countries which are represented here, had made vital and tangible contributions to the growth and advancement of human sciences and education. In the past, our respective countries possessed some of the finest educational institutions which showed the beacon-light of knowledge and enlightenment to the outside world and devised many a new system of academic and philosophic studies including inter-regional exchanges of students, teachers and research scholars.

The situation as we face it today in this second half of the twentieth century is unfortunately very much different from our memories of the glorious past. During the last few centuries, the scales of history were turned against us and while many other countries made phenomenal advance in the spheres of science and technology, the countries in Asia remained generally backward and suffered from poverty, lack of education and lack of high purpose which reduced this once great region to a state of stagnation and decay. It is only recently that the countries of this region have attained freedom and the right to mould their existence to suit their genius.

Since then the task has been uphill, although encouraging signs of progress are beginning to be seen everywhere. At such a stage in the social and economic advancement of our part of the world our universities undoubtedly have a great responsibility and trust; they are called upon not only to disseminate knowledge and learning, in keeping with the great traditions of the past and the needs of the future, but also to take their place in the vanguard of all movements for Asia's progress and keep pace with the fast-moving times of today.

This Conference of the Heads of Universities can, therefore, revive the glorious ancient traditions and also show the way to other social, economic, intellectual and spiritual institutions of the South-East Asian region by holding aloft the torch of progress and enlightenment on the basis of mutual co-operation.

I believe you have a full and busy programme before you. We, in Pakistan, will be deeply concerned with your deliberations and the ways and means which may be adopted to give a practical shape to the decisions taken at this Conference. On my part, let me assure you that my country and my Government would feel happy to offer you their fullest co-operation in the implementation of your future plans and active support of our scholars and universities.

A sound and scientific system of education does not confine itself to the dissemination of knowledge and promotion of research. It goes

much deeper than that; indeed, its purpose is to make the human society homogenous and dynamic—a society capable of catering not only to the material needs of each one of its members but also of providing a balance between man's material-*cum*-social needs and his spiritual values. In other words, a really sound philosophy of education should be endowed both with a soul and mechanics.

Today, as we all know, human knowledge and intellect have unhappily come to precipitate a grave crisis; this crisis is born of constant imbalance between scientific forces and spiritual values. To my mind the perfect system of life, and therefore of social education, ought really to cut its way through this crisis, in order to save both human knowledge and human soul. One should become the saviour of the other.

Educational Reforms

It was on account of realization of this sense of crisis that one of our foremost reforms has been to revitalise and regenerate the system of education in Pakistan. Education was not the only problem we had. Indeed, a large number of problems were pressing us all around dealing with our social and economic existence, problems of building up of industries, commerce and agricultural system, problems concerning our defence and our contribution to the maintenance of world peace, and none of these problems could be viewed in isolation. Nevertheless, I came to the conclusion that education was the key to the solution of all other problems in the long run and, accordingly, I gave education a very high priority. I set up a Commission on National Education containing educational experts including Vice-Chancellors, whose recommendations have guided me in reorientating the educational pattern in this country. I am happy to say that we have maae a good beginning in this direction and we sincerely hope that in due course our educational system would be able to produce men and women of high intellectual attainments, of deep sincerity and patriotism—who can face the challenge of modern life bravely and successfully.

Our educational reforms make extensive provision for the advancement of scientific and technological knowledge in Pakistan, but such advancement shall not be at the cost of our moral and spiritual values. In fact, we are taking care to preserve and promote our independent national character and the basic ideological pattern of our nation. This is in effect what I mean when I speak of the Islamic way of life for which

we needed—and created with God's help—this great land of Pakistan.

I am sure that other countries in the region must also be thinking in the direction of giving high priority to education as I am convinced that it is on a sound educational system alone that countries in this region can make competitive progress and all right-minded persons ought to be aware of this necessity.

Role of Universities

In the present stage of our struggle for progress and advancement, I believe, our universities can play a vital and significant role: they can help create the right kind of leadership; they can produce leaders not only in the scientific and technological world but also leaders in the social and economic spheres; leaders of commerce and industry; leaders of politics and religion. If this conference can succeed in starting a programme for working out the mechanics of filling up the existing gaps and meeting these requirements of our social, economic, intellectual and spiritual existence, I feel it would have made a most substantial contribution towards the progress and future of the South-East Asian region.

I wish you every success in your deliberations, and a happy and fruitful stay in Pakistan.

(Inaugural speech at the Conference of Heads of the Universities of the SEATO member countries at the Karachi University Campus on January 25, 1961)

WARSAK DAM PROJECT: A MONUMENT TO FRIENDSHIP OF CANADA AND PAKISTAN

It has given me great pleasure to know that the multi-purpose Warsak Dam Project has been successfully completed. The need for such projects in this country is obvious. I am sure we will be multiplying our efforts at harnessing our natural resources to the best advantage of our countrymen and construct many more and bigger projects for supply of cheap power, and irrigation facilities.

The Warsak Project will brighten many homes, particularly in areas which are comparatively remote and far flung. I sincerely hope and pray that this project may yield in full measure all the benefits visualised by the planners of the project.

The Warsak Dam is a monument to the friendship of Canada and Pakistan. I am grateful to the Government of Canada for the assistance rendered by them under the Colombo Plan for the successful completion of the project.

I thank all those, both Pakistanis and Canadians, who have had a part to play in the successful completion of this project.

(*Message on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony of the Warsak Dam Project on January* 26, 1961)

DEFENCE AGAINST AGGRESSION: PRIMARY MISSION OF THE PAKISTAN AIR FORCE

Air Marshal Asghar Khan, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am glad of the opportunity to witness this graduation parade. Your parade today gives great credit to your programme of training. I congratulate you all on your performance, in particular the winners of the awards.

For the next several years you will, no doubt, be primarily occupied with flying the aircraft entrusted to you. But, with the acceptance of the officer's insignia, you will be required to play an equally significant role as leaders of men. Since you wear the uniform of an officer, men will turn to you for guidance and direction. It is, therefore, of vital importance that during these early years, you develop habits which will ensure success for you as leaders of men.

You start right now to broaden your mental horizons by intensive study and extensive application. One of you will some day rise to positions of high rank, you will have control over the fate and welfare of thousands of men and some of you will get an opportunity to represent Pakistan at international parleys. You will progress towards these future responsibilities only if you widen your scope of creative interest and pursuit.

You must learn to place principles above personalities and fortified with this strong sense of value, you must also learn to have faith in your fellow men. You will find that human nature everywhere is very much the same. Honesty and loyalty are to be found in plenty among human

beings provided you endeavour to inspire them with these virtues yourselves.

An individual will be helped to develop these qualities if you treat him fairly, considerately and sincerely. Help him take care of his family and his health; help him develop his sense of dignity and self-respect. Remember this particularly when you are dealing with those serving under you. At the same time, you should demand of yourself and of those serving under you the very highest standards of professional efficiency. We must not be satisfied with the second best. In recent years we have had enough heart-warming triumphs to give us confidence to demand much of ourselves. The time for excuses, for laziness and for tolerance of shoddiness is a thing of the past. The satisfaction that comes from relentless effort, creative leadership and first-rate performance is a sustaining, all-absorbing experience.

Gentlemen, you must appreciate your mission as Air Force officers. As you know, the primary mission of the Pakistan Air Force is to defend your country against aggression. By acting as a shield against attack, your task is to ensure that there is un-interrupted peace in your homeland.

Peace is always important, but it is particularly important today as we are trying to earn for our country its rightful position among the leading nations of the world.

The greatness of a nation depends upon how many citizens it has who are enlightened, educated and willing to work. The greatest natural resources of a nation are its people, and in Pakistan, there are plenty of people. We are among the leading nations of the world in respect of population, and we should also be able to take an equal position among the leading nations in respect of standards of living, health, education and social welfare.

I am confident that our industrialists, scientists and educators will bring about these developments, but they must be able to work without interruption and without fear. They can bring about progress only if we have peace. It is for you in the Armed Services to provide them the protection they need. This is your primary mission.

May God bless you in your efforts to fulfil this mission.

(*Address to the Officers of the Pakistan Air Force College, Risalpur, on January* 27, 1961)

MESSAGE TO WRITERS' GUILD

In my message on your first anniversary held at Dacca, I had given you a personal assurance for the safeguard of freedom of expression. I am glad that by the grace of God I have been able to keep my word and, on this occasion, I can do no better than reiterate the same assurance with the fullest emphasis at my command.

I take this opportunity to invite your attention to a national problem though it is not new. Now that you have spent two years on organization, is it not necessary that you individually and jointly think of accomplishing the national aspirations of Pakistan. I am undoubtedly only a reader but you will agree with me that even the most subjective literature is ultimately objective and that even the most international outlook cannot in the first instance ignore the territorial, ideological, spiritual and intellectual four walls-within which the writer lives and breathes.

I am not suggesting you subjects or scope of your writings. I wish only to tell you that, whereas the nation and the country owe you many obligations, you are also members—not ordinary but extraordinary members—of this society and it is time your efforts for Pakistan's intellectual integrity, solidarity and greatness were recognized and revitalised.

You know it better than I do that history examines all balance-sheets ruthlessly whether they belong to writers or to readers.

I am always devoted to your welfare, your advancement and the protection of your rights.

(Message on the occasion of the Second Anniversary of the Writers' Guild celebrated at K.G.A. Hall, Karachi, on January 31, 1961)

COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS: A BOLD ENTERPRISE IN INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan, and on my own behalf, I most warmly welcome your Majesty and H.R.H. Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburg, to Pakistan. Your Majesty is the first reigning monarch of the United Kingdom and the first Head of the Commonwealth to visit this country. This is, therefore, a very happy occasion for us indeed.

In the two centuries during which our fortunes were linked with yours, forces were generated and tendencies came into being which are destined to play an important role in shaping the mould of the future. We learnt the forms and appearances of your institutions. A few of us also appreciated their spirit and their substance. With or without appreciating their spirit, most of us learnt to admire them, so much so that any modification of their form to suit our own conditions is regarded by some as nothing short of sacrilege. The learning and the skill of our forefathers had almost languished away in these regions. Through your language, we made contact with the stage to which they had been taken in the West. Like you, we firmly believe in democratic ideals and in the dignity and sanctity of the human individual. To give these ideals the widest possible base in our conditions, we found it necessary to introduce a system of democracy which has its roots in the villages and suits the genius of our people. The new enterprise of Basic Democracy which we have launched in the country is already showing signs of success and we are confident that institutions built on

such solid foundations will be able to sustain themselves in all circumstances.

Commonwealth of Nations

These are strong ties which are, fortunately, further strengthened by our continued association with you in the Commonwealth of Nations. This broad family of nations, belonging to so many different colours, castes, creeds, and continents, presents a bold enterprise in international understanding and goodwill. For reasons of geography and differences in language, race, religion and culture, it is not possible to secure a complete identity of outlook on all major issues in a sprawling group of this nature; but our hope and ambitions are largely the same. All of us share the aim to maintain peace and stability in the world, remove the fear of war and co-operate in raising our own and each other's standard of living. I believe that the more effective the Commonwealth becomes, the more pronounced will be the influence that it can cast on the affairs of the world at large.

Second Five-Year Plan

During your visit to Pakistan, we shall try to show Your Majesty as much of our country as possible. As an independent nation, we are only a few years old. In many fields, we had to start from scratch. While we have made considerable progress with the assistance of friendly countries like yours, much has yet to be done. We have embarked upon a Second Five-Year Plan which aims at a greater economic development and prosperity for Pakistan. To make the Plan successful, we need outside assistance in greater measure in the shape of loans and investments. We are grateful for the generous economic assistance that we have received for the various programmes under the Colombo Plan and also for the financing of the projects under the Indus Waters Treaty. The response we have had about our future needs has also enhanced our hopes of success of our efforts to attain a better standard of living.

We hope that Your Majesty's stay with us will be pleasant and enjoyable. When you return home, you will carry with you our deepest regards and affection for you and for your peoples.

Your Royal Highness, Your Excellencies, My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, I request you to join me in drinking the Health of Her

Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Head of the Commonwealth.

(Speech at the banquet given in honour of Queen Elizabeth II, in Karachi on February 1, 1961)

STANDARDISATION: A TRUE INDEX TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS

I am happy to learn that the Pakistan Standards Institution is bringing out the Standards Bulletin, a quarterly journal, which aims at popularising and disseminating information regarding standardisation of products and commodities produced in the country.

Standardisation is a true index to the economic progress of the country and it is natural that it has come to be regarded as an essential factor in all developed countries of the world. It is, therefore, necessary that countries which aim at industrial development must accord a very high place to the process of Standardisation.

The Government of Pakistan attach great importance to standardisation and have, for this purpose, established the Pakistan Standards Institution as a national organisation. This institution has been assigned the work of preparing and evolving standards for all the commodities and products of the country.

I wish every success to the Standards Bulletin and hope that its publication will achieve the objective for which it has been designed.

(*Message sent to the 'Pakistan Standards Bulletin' on February* 24, 1961)

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION: A GIGANTIC TASK

There is a vast amount of development work going on. Some is already launched and some is in the process of planning and, now we want good deal of foreign capital, also, good deal of know-how, and it would give real joy if workers coming out to Pakistan were of British origin and, I hope, more and more of you will come out to Pakistan. It would be a profitable venture. We offer very attractive terms for foreign investment. You might say why are we in such a hurry? Why are we trying to do all these things? The pace at which we want to do these things is a really break-neck one and, it has to be at that pace because the peoples' expectations have risen. World has shrunk from the point of view of passage of information and knowledge of each other and the people in our country now realise that through certain types of endeavour and certain types of conduct it is possible to improve peoples, life. There is tremendous revolution and tremendous outburst in the minds of the people for better things in life. So we cannot go any pace slower than the one we have tried to set for ourselves.

Man-Power and Resources

We have resources and enormous amount of man-power. We have to train that man-power and we have to train their mental attitude to a way of life. This will go on and will not slacken for a long time to come and so there will be more need for more and more co-operation between your people and our people. We take tremendous pride in association

with the Commonwealth and the past association with the British people. Past two and a half years or so, for me and my associates, have been interesting ones.

Realistic Approach

My endeavour has not been just to try to run the country. That is not enough. We have to find out our social, political and economic weaknesses and try to eradicate them and prepare our people psychologically, educationally and skillwise for the new way of life and this is a gigantic task for anybody to undertake. It has taken other communities, literally, hundreds of years but because of pressure of time we cannot allow pace to slacken, so in this, one has to be alert. One has to know the real conditions of the people. One has to be realistic and one has to push, push and push, at the same time, make major operations, almost surgical operations in every walk of life; and the art is to take people, find how far they are prepared to go, and, if that is not enough, they have to be stretched and persuaded a little further. We have not to take them to breaking point and that is the philosophy behind the changes we have made in our country. We have to bring about social reforms. In this life you cannot have a few rich and a large number of poor living at the level of starvation. If you allow that to go on, you are inviting Communism and, as far as we are concerned, it is not very far distant from us. We cannot make too many mistakes. We have got to awaken our society and the people to their needs, to their new responsibilities and new opportunities that are before them. And you have to take people with you, and you can only take them with you, when they are fully conscious of their new responsibilities and, to do that, you have to have a measure of liberty and a measure of equality in your country. The best will not come without these two elements. Therefore, we have to organise our society so that we have political institutions, which are democratic in essense, but are of the type which we can understand and work. We have to have political stability in our country.

Constitution Commission

We have appointed a Constitution Commission which has just finished its investigation and, I think, in about a month's time they should be ready with their report. Thereafter we will examine it and we will, I hope, have the type of constitution which will suit us.

We have not done this to destroy democracy but to establish the proper type of democracy. A lot of good things are happening in Pakistan. They show that our people are sound and if you give them the right leadership they will respond and this exercise is really to give them just that. If our system succeeds then, may be, it is something which can be useful to many new countries in Asia and Africa who are anxious to find out what will work and what will not work in their country.

(*Address to the Pakistan Society in London, on March 15, 1961*)

EID-UL-FITR MESSAGE TO PAKISTANIS IN U.K.

I wish all my countrymen, women and children, a very happy *Eid Mubarak*. On this day of rejoicing, let us reaffirm our pledge to work ceaselessly for the glory of Pakistan, and let us also pray for our Muslim brethren in Kashmir and everywhere else in the world who are still struggling to achieve their basic human right of freedom.

(Message to the Pakistani residents in U.K. on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr, datelined Rawalpindi March 18, 1961)

PAKISTAN DAY MESSAGE TO THE NATION

On this day 21 years ago, when the Muslims of the sub-continent took the momentous decision to achieve Pakistan it looked almost a cry for the moon at that time. But within less than seven and a half years Pakistan did become a reality. What was the secret of this success?

The secret lay in the unfaltering faith in our cause which was in turn buttressed and sustained by a sense of discipline, both individual and collective.

This sense of discipline has been and should continue to be our greatest weapon against all the internal difficulties and external dangers which may threaten the very freedom which we have fought so hard to win and which we so jealously safeguard and preserve.

It is only to the extent we observe and strengthen the traditions of disciplined behaviour that we can move forward as a nation and as individuals, for discipline chastens and inspires as well as unites.

Sense of Discipline

The sense of discipline must of course start from the cradle and end in the grave alone. But in particular our youth and specially those amongst them who have had the benefit of education or are in the process of receiving it, owe it to themselves and to the nation to realise fully the importance of discipline.

As the cream of our rising society, it is in their hands that the future of the country shall ultimately lie and it is upto them to set the highest

example of disciplined behaviour.

Whilst it is only natural for young and fresh minds to be open and receptive, free and impressionable, it is equally important that they should have the ability to discriminate between right and wrong emotion and wisdom, discretion and misguidance. If they allow themselves to stray into fields which tempt them away from their studies they will be only disrupting their careers which neither the country nor their parents can afford.

There is no merit in trying to pluck the berries before they are ripe. They must never forget that they have to equip themselves as quickly and as thoroughly as possible with optimum knowledge which would qualify them for the great and demanding role of our future leadership.

So my sincere advice to the youth of my country is: think clearly, act wisely, react conscientiously and always and under all circumstances remain fully and firmly disciplined.

Role of Ulema

This discipline of the mind and the body presupposes a deep and inner discipline of the soul. It is in the cultivation of this spiritual discipline that a great burden of responsibility rests amongst others, on our *Ulema* in particular. These men of religious knowledge and learning have for centuries held a total sway on the minds of countless men and women of faith. They have invariably earned the esteem, even adoration, of the bulk of our masses, and if *Ulema* wish to continue the leadership with which the past has honoured them they have absolutely no option but to recognise the needs and demands of the present and the future.

The mass-man of today is changing fast in every dimension. The speed and tempo of life is becoming more and more dynamic and breathless. The spread of universal education is breaking the crust of ignorance and prejudice. The rapid advance of science and knowledge is storming the citadels of blind faith. The quest for inquiry and interrogation is pressing hard against many an accepted notion and conviction. To keep the men and women of these environments within the four-walls of faith is the great challenge of our age. To meet this challenge it is our *Ulema* who have to rise to the occasion and move forward with the spirit of Islam, which is doubtless the most progressive religion of all times.

Indeed, the strength of Islam lies in its progressive nature, its stress on knowledge and discovery, and its capacity to march even

ahead of time. If our *Ulema* fail to recognise this most vital and essential aspect of our great religion, it appears as though more and more men and women of today and tomorrow will recede farther and farther from the boundaries of faith. This will be the greatest tragedy for both the worlds in which we believe. May God forbid that such a situation ever arise.

The only way to avert this catastrophe is to widen our horizons of knowledge, march in step with the innovation of science and technology, readjust conservatism with modernism, and juxtapose the traditions of yesterday with the changing demands of today and tomorrow. The absence of such a progressive attitude can lead to fallacies and absurdities which, when looked upon in retrospect, are nothing more than sheer mockery. After all, it is within our living memory that the use of microphones in congregational prayers was condemned as a downright sacrilege. But now it is an accepted instrument—merely because it is a convenient aid to our multi-dimensional life and has no relation whatsoever with the spirit and principles of faith.

Similarly, today we are witnessing a great deal of confusion and bewilderment on the use of scientific instruments for the sighting of moon. I have no doubt that in the days to come this confusion will look as utter foolishness. Please do always remember one thing: religion has come to serve man, and science has come to serve hoth. Failure to recognise this simple truth is no service to man or God.

Family Laws

As you know, only recently we have taken some steps to rationalise the much abused marriage and family laws. It is a measure to restore social justice to those who were denied their fundamental rights under the twisted cloak of religious sanction. Those who feel upset by it should do well to have a good look at their conscience and check upon their own motives and desires.

Besides the element of social justice, these reforms will, let us hope, also act as a deterrent to the staggering rate of the growth of our population. That our population has increased by about two crores in the last 10 years must cause deep concern to all thinking men and women. Unless we can effectively curb this galloping rate of population growth, it will soon outstrip the pace of our economic development and believe me a time may come when man may start eating man. This is not a matter of religion. It is a matter of simple economy. Those who

look upon it in a different light are indeed the enemies of man and God. So my dear countrymen and women, I can do no better than appeal to you on this solemn day to resolve to inculcate a true and steady sense of discipline in all your emotions and appetites, productions and consumptions, thoughts and deeds, mind and body and in the affairs of faith and conviction. This is the real key not only to our progress but also to our very survival as a free and sovereign nation.

Pakistan Paindabad.

(*Message to the Nation broadcast on March* 22, 1961, *on the eve of Pakistan Day*)

EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN: ONE COUNTRY AND ONE NATION

Assalam-o-Alaikum,

Today is the historic day when the Muslims of the sub-continent resolved to have a homeland for themselves, namely Pakistan. Under the guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam, the resolution of the people and above all by the grace of God we achieved the object and attained our independence. In order to retain this independence we had to face tremendous difficulties. But we feel proud in acknowledging the fact that at every difficult turn in our affairs our Armed Forces stood by the country and the people with complete discipline and singleness of purpose. I congratulate you all on these magnificent traditions.

East Pakistan unfortunately has seen many a calamity in the shape of floods, cyclones and storms coming to it. The entire nation is grateful to the Armed Forces, the East Pakistan Rifles, Ansars and all other official and non-official agencies for the great services rendered by them in all such calamities.

You will be glad to learn that we have decided to raise two more battalions from East Pakistan. Please do not forget that despite geographical distances East and West Pakistan are one country and one nation. Our unity is not dependent on any material values but it depends entirely on a common spiritual base. Material bonds can weaken and even snap but no earthly force can adversely affect the spiritual bonds.

I pray to God to enable us to protect and preserve the ideology on which we have become an independent people and grant us strength

to become true and patriotic Pakistanis. *Ameen*! *Pakistan Paindabad*!

(Address to the Armed Forces at the Ceremonial Parade at Dacca on March 23, 1961)

'TRADE WITHOUT TRICKS': A MOTTO FOR TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Mr. President and Members of the Dacca Chamber of Commerce and Industry and Gentlemen:

I congratulate you on your project to construct a building of its own for the Dacca Chamber of Commerce and Industry. I hope the foundation that is being laid today will soon develop into a full-fledged building and will serve as the nerve-centre of the trade and industry of this great city.

Mr. President, I have listened to your address of welcome with great attention. Whilst I do appreciate the generous sentiments you have expressed for the general good my Government is trying to do, I feel rather concerned over the extent of your dismay on, if I may say so, a matter of one-sided importance. You are quite right in ventilating your difficulties and problems, but they need not necessarily leave a dim impression that all is going wrong with the affairs of trade and industry. We are doing our best to streamline the system of administration so that irritating delays and frustrating over-lappings are minimised and I have no doubt that sooner rather than later you will begin to feel the impact of these reforms. Already far-reaching measures like the new licensing procedure, automatic licensing, the widened field of O.G.L., free expansion of the textile industry to the extent that was visualized over the entire plan period, declaration of the industrial schedule for the private sector and the lifting of controls have been adopted with a view to breaking the tyranny of categories, promote

industrial production and allow an unfettered scope to the development of genuine trade and industry.

Welfare of the Nation

As regards the long list of your grievances I shall send them to relevant authorities and I have no doubt that they will be able to sort them out with you, at an early date. In this meeting, however, I would like to confine myself to a few observations related to the welfare of the nation as a whole.

There is no doubt that trade and industry are a paramount sector in the scheme of our economy, but please do remember, that this sector has got to be adjusted within the overall framework of our national needs and resources with a sense of clear cut realism. It is futile to expect that streams of milk and honey should start flowing in the avenues of trade and industry alone; afterall you cannot draw more from a bank than what you put in it. Every facility which you desire to obtain in the matters of loans, capital investment, taxation and other concessions will ultimately be determined by the contributions you make to the national resources and the relief you provide to the common man. To expect anything more than this will be totally unrealistic.

Monster of Suspicion

I have noted with some regret that you gentlemen of trade and industry also consider it fashionable to repeat the truth-beaten slogan that the rate of industrial development in this wing of Pakistan is far from satisfactory. I wish you had asked the question that if it is so, then, who is responsible for it? So far as the national resources are concerned, they are allocated to each area according to its needs and requirements without any discremination. Then how is it that with the same amount of resources the pace of development is retarded in one place and accelerated in the other? The answer in one word is: Suspicion. This monster of suspicion was raised by misguided politics which aimed at achieving limited objectives at the cost of national integrity. Believe me that in West Pakistan, too, the present stage of development would never have reached if the people of that region had not laid the red-carpet to welcome prospect investors who had migrated from the various parts of India. Here in East Pakistan conditions were unfortunately not allowed to become equally conducive. Remember that economic development

is a game of large-scale investments. So long as adequate resources cannot be generated locally one had to go out of one's way to attract the required amount of capital from other sources.

During the last few months I have gone round a number of countries, both in the East and the West. Believe me, these were not pleasure trips for me. I have had to work as a hawker selling opportunities of investment in Pakistan, broadcasting assurances of concessions and inducement extending hopes of attractive gains and profits because human nature, being what it is, nobody will come forward to invest his money unless he is sure of a reasonable warmth of reception and goodwill. This is the lesson which you also require to learn. Until such time as you can produce your own resources adequately, you must attract capital investment from other parts of Pakistan, and you can do this only if you discard suspicion and establish normal healthy and nationally sound human equations.

'Trade Without Tricks'

Mr. President, I welcome your assurance that since the advent of the present regime the business community prefers a clear and straight deal. But I must say that the example of the declarations of hidden income under amnesty which you have quoted is not quite adequate. What is required is a clear and straight deal not in relation with the Government alone but also in relation with the common consumer. I am constrained to observe that in our country it is the poor consumer who invariably receives a raw deal at the hands of trade and industry. After all it is not by accident that commodities disappear when any controls are imposed and reappear at enhanced prices when the controls are lifted. The inevitable question of supply and demand is of course one of the reasons, but it is by no means the only reason. The main cause is that on such occasions something or the other goes wrong with our trade ethics.

It is quite distasteful to sound foreboding but let me tell you that no amount of power and wealth accumulated at the cost of the common man can last for long. You are perfectly entitled to demand full profits for your labour and work, but if you raise them beyond the limit of endurance it will be good to remember that there is always an angry and anguished consumer at the other end of the line.

Mr. President, I feel that "trade without tricks" would be a sound motto to be inscribed on the foundation-stone which you have invited

me to lay this morning.

Thank you.

(Address to the Dacca Chamber of Commerce and Industry on March 24, 1961)

NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It gives me great pleasure to inaugurate this Conference in which leading economists of the nation have joined with businessmen, industrialists, bankers and public servants, at the invitation of the Bureau of National Reconstruction, to discuss major aspects of our Second Five-Year Plan.

The Plan will soon be completing its first year. Valuable material was provided for it by the report of the panel of economists, and many useful suggestions came as comments on the draft outline. Since its formal approval by the Economic Council, too, it has received much attention at home and abroad, and from all accounts has had a good start. Planning, however, is a continuous process. It entails constant appraisal and review and a flexibility of approach within the general discipline of its broad framework. Enlightened discussion and constructive suggestions are, therefore, always welcome, and while planning must of course, remain the primary responsibility of the organisation specifically charged with it, it is a matter of vital concern to the whole nation whose resources and capabilities, hopes and aspirations it must reflect. In this sense, it must be a people's plan. In fact, no plan, however soundly conceived, can succeed without a full measure of the people's understanding and their actively, enthusiastic participation. Your Conference, by promoting an intelligent understanding of national problems and by focussing attention on major aspects of economic policies and

plans, is bound to stimulate popular interest in these.

Ladies and gentlemen, in all my public addresses and private talks I have been emphasizing two matters as of over-riding importance to the nation: National integration and economic development, (political stability, of course, is a prerequisite for both). These will not be achieved without a nation-wide realisation of the magnitude of the task ahead, of the need for everyone—high or low—to contribute to the common cause. To build a better Pakistan, there will have to be a willingness to accept some hardships today for a better tomorrow and dedicated, determined hard work for a long time to come. No nation ever attained greatness in any other way, and the greatest responsibility devolves on our intelligentsia, the natural leaders of society, for educating and mobilising public opinion in this behalf. Seen in this light, the successive national plans would appear as so many stages in the nation's determined struggle to throw off that oppressive yoke of poverty which dampens our spirit, stifles initiative, inhibits progress, and which the Holy Prophet himself warned us against as likely to lead to '*kufr*'. I invite you ladies and gentlemen to ponder over your role in this struggle which must first be won in the people's minds.

Allocation of Resources

The themes for your discussions raise some very interesting questions. There is for instance, the basic question of allocation of resources between competing demands. While the nation is generally agreed on the long term objectives of the Plan, economists frequently differ with regard to the best methods of attaining them. There are those who would advocate concerted attention on heavy industry to speed up the stage of self-generating growth. Others prefer quick-yielding projects which create extensive employment and provide goods and services as a measure of consumer relief. Some would like a balanced economic development, yet others "the historic processes whereby over-development of one industry has pulled the entire economy along for a rapid start. Some would emphasize economic projects which give results measurable in financial terms. Others advocate concentration on providing the infra-structure and social over-head the direct benefits of which are not measurable in monetary terms but without which no economic super-structure can be raised speedily. Training of technical personnel and the development of skills and know-how fall in the latter category. There is, in fact, a school of thought amongst economists today which

believes that the most important single factor in economic development is that of scientific knowledge and technical skill—a field in which we are not too advanced. Our attempts to overcome this handicap, howsoever modestly, have inevitably resulted in a high overall capital output ratio, a fact which some mistakenly interpreted as our failure to obtain a high enough productivity rate from our investment. But I have no doubt that this investment in human resources and in all necessary infra-structure has the nation's solid support.

In all this welter of competing demands, a choice of alternatives becomes doubly hard when resources are as meagre as ours are. And though the generous assistance provided by friendly powers has been of very real help, our goals must, of necessity, be modest and all our allocations subject to a rigorous system of priorities to prevent valuable resources being frittered away on less urgent projects. In appraising our plans, this aspect ought to receive constant attention of all of us.

Agricultural Sector

I notice from your themes that our past failure in the agricultural sector is going to receive special attention. I welcome this, as I regard it a shame that eighty per cent of the population should not be able to feed itself and the remaining twenty per cent. This problem takes an added significance in view of the startling rate of population growth disclosed by preliminary census figures. Vigorous attempts are being made now all along the line to increase agricultural production. But here again significant results could only follow a determined and concerted nation-wide campaign in which the educated classes must play their due part.

Time does not permit my touching upon the other vital questions you are going to discuss. I have no doubt that your deliberations will help the Government and also materially contribute to a better understanding of the problems by our people.

I am glad that you, gentlemen, could take time off your pressing engagements and came to attend this Conference at the request of the Bureau of National Reconstruction. I wish you all success in your deliberations.

(Inaugural Address to the Economic Conference on the Second Five-Year Plan in Rawalpindi on April 5, 1961)

INSURANCE BUSINESS: VITAL FOR COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

The important role which insurance plays in the economy has not been fully appreciated in the past. It is essential to the smooth running of trade and industry. It is also a prime source of building up funds for the development of the country.

I am glad, therefore, to see a growing awareness of the vital function performed by insurance. This is noticeable in the increasing number of new insurance companies which have recently entered the field and a general upsurge in their activities.

I hope that this healthy development will be given fresh impetus as a result of the First All-Pakistan Insurance Convention due to commence at Karachi on the 6th April. The insurance industry can no longer afford to follow only traditional patterns but must keep abreast of the needs of the rapidly changing economic scene. I am sure this requirement will be uppermost in the minds of the delegates when they meet to discuss the task before them.

I send my best wishes to the organizers of the Convention for a successful meeting.

(*Message to the first All-Pakistan Insurance Convention held in Karachi on April* 6, 1961)

NEW AMERICAN CHANCERY BUILDING: A MONUMENT OF FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES OF U.S.A. AND PAKISTAN

Mr. Ambassador, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I deem it a great privilege to have been called upon to open this magnificent building. The Ambassador has referred to the climatic change which is prevalent throughout the world and also in Pakistan.

He has referred especially to the change and shift of the capital from here to Rawalpindi and later on we hope to Islamabad. When we were considering these matters, I asked the planners and I asked the Secretariat two specific questions, that before we decided to shift to Rawalpindi, I would like to know, whether, we had any commitments to the Government of the United States and to the Government of India because going past these places I noticed that the magnificent big building was being built here and similarly on another road the Indian Chancery was being built.

And I felt that it would be very wrong to make a decision unless we were sure that we had done something to assuage their feelings and perhaps compensate them if we were in the wrong. To my relief I was told that there was no such commitment.

I felt very relieved again and I said to myself, very well. Then I checked up with the American Ambassador at that time and I said this is my information, is it right? He said yes, it is absolutely right. And you need not fear that if the Government shifts from here and goes to

another place, we can always utilize this building.

No Assurance

And if worse comes to the worse we can always sell it to you. So I said we will see when that stage comes. Similarly, I think I checked up with the Indian Ambassador whether we had made any commitments or given any assurance that the Central Government will always stay in Karachi, and he said no such assurance was given but we hope that you won't shift, because we have spent so much money and so on and so forth.

So I said if you want to be our good friends you will conform to what we think is best for Pakistan. I don't think he took it too well but he took it as a good friend.

So I have had some close interests and I have had to pay close attention to this project and I am delighted to see that it is now matured and completed. The Ambassador has referred to this building as being the monument of our friendship, let's say friendship between the people of the United States of America and the people of Pakistan.

He has also generously referred to the assistance which the Government of Pakistan has given towards the completion of this project and also the assistance which our people in different capacities have given. It is very kind of him to mention that, but we, too, owe the Government of the United States of America and the people of America a great debt of gratitude. We can never forget the amount of interest that the people of America showed in our independence struggle a long time ago and I think through changed circumstances and through our relationship with the British and also, I have no doubt in my mind, through the pressure of good friends like the Americans, we got our independence.

We owe a debt of gratitude to you for that. You have assisted us in many many fields in our two requirements—basic requirements, which are to assure and insure our survival and the other is to insure our progress.

And in those two endeavours your country and your Government have assisted us in many many ways and generously and we are truly and really thankful to you for that. Now our relationship, apart from being allies, originates from common objectives in these regions and those common objectives are based on the maintenance of peace and freedom and I have no doubt in my mind those objectives will stay, and as long as they will stay, they will keep the people of America and

the people of Pakistan very close together indeed.

Sceptics talk about doubts, about this, that, or the other, but I have no doubt in my mind that responsible and thinking people have to face the hard facts of life and the compulsion of logic becomes irresistible. And I have no doubt in my mind that there are plenty of sensible people in America and there are plenty of sensible people in Pakistan. And as long as they are there and they think sensibly, I have no doubt in my mind that this friendship will grow and it will grow for the good of mankind.

I was told that I was not required to give a long talk here, I don't propose doing so, as all of you are waiting I suppose to go around this building but I will wind up by saying how grateful I am to you Mr. Ambassador and to the rest of the American community for inviting me to this function and let me tell you it is my genuine pleasure to have had the opportunity of opening this building. Thank you.

(Speech at the opening ceremony of the new American Chancery building in Karachi on April 18, 1961)

DAWOOD FOUNDATION: A DEDICATED ENTERPRISE

I feel particularly happy to associate myself with the inauguration of the Dawood Foundation this afternoon.

The establishment of this Foundation is, indeed, a great landmark in the growth of social responsibility in our country. The spirit in which this dedicated enterprise has been launched is extremely heart-warming and I congratulate the Dawood family for adding these fresh laurels to the long list of their public and philanthropic services. May God reward them for this noble work.

In the all-round industrial, economic, social and political progress which we are endeavouring to make, the real base is to be provided by the character and education of every single member of our nation. The reconstruction of social and spiritual values is a mission which our new educational system seeks to perform. The Government will, of course, shoulder its full share of responsibility upto the maximum limit of its resources, but the task is so immense that the need for large-scale co-operation from the public cannot be over-emphasised.

The unprecedented opportunities which the establishment of Pakistan brought to people of enterprise in our country and still greater chances which our new development plans promise to unfold, are not a matter of material prosperity alone. Material prosperity is, no doubt, a desirable—even essential—pursuit, but without a corresponding awakening of a widespread sense of social uplift, this is only like rain on rocks where it stands and stagnates. The ultimate object of all progress

is the elevation of human character and the only effective machinery for achieving this object is Education. But please do remember that education is not an abstract philosophy which can be spun out of minds and hearts alone. No, Sir, education like any other workshop, requires trained personnel, buildings, books, laboratories and other equipment of the highest quality. It is here that public philanthropy can come forward to supplement governmental resources and thus help in making education universal at one stage and selectively fruitful at the other.

I am happy that the Dawood Foundation has taken a big step in this direction. Let us hope that many other men of means in our country will follow this example and create more and more agencies with similar objects. Believe me, we need them as much as we need armament for our Defence Forces, seed for our lands and machines for our factories.

As regards the question of granting exemption from income-tax to donations for educational purposes, I think, I need not say anything about it at this stage. You have already acted wisely in making the Finance Minister a member of your Trust—and nobody will be happier than me if, for once, you succeed in converting him from the philosophy of more taxes to that of no taxes; I wish you every luck in this brave mission!

Once again I heartily congratulate the Dawood family on the establishment of this Foundation, and, while inaugurating it, I pray to God that He may bless it with His grace and make it a source of benefit to the needs of our country. *Amen.*

(*Speech at the inauguration ceremony of the Dawood Foundation in Karachi on April* 20, 1961)

DASTARBANDI OF NAWAB OF JUNAGADH

I am very happy to participate in this auspicious ceremony. It gives me genuine pleasure in consummation of the decision of the Government of Pakistan to recognise Your Highness as the Nawab of Junagadh in succession to your distinguished father, the late His Highness Colonel Nawab Sir Mahabat Khan Rasul Khan, N.Q.A., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., to perform the *Dastarbandi* ceremony of Your Highness.

I am confident that Your Highness will continue to keep up the good traditions of the House of Junagadh. The heritage of culture and education which Your Highness has inherited from your illustrious family, whose history dates back nearly two-and-a-half centuries, will stand you in good stead.

I offer Your Highness my most sincere felicitations on this auspicious occasion and pray that you may be spared to uphold the dignity of Your House.

(Speech at the Dastarbandi ceremony of Nawab of Junagadh in Karachi on April 21, 1961)

ALLAMA IQBAL—A SYMBOL OF FREEDOM

I take this opportunity of joining the Nation in celebrating Iqbal Day and paying a heartfelt tribute to the memory of the great philosopher-poet who gave ideological content to the movement which culminated in the achievement of Pakistan. Iqbal was one of those genius talents which successfully projected through the medium of rhyme and meter an idealism that is a unique combination of intellect and emotion, and embodies the noblest and the best in our cultural heritage. He made a lasting contribution to the understanding of consciousness and human personality in terms of ethical perfection.

For us, Iqbal is not merely an individual poet and philosopher, but an institution, symbol of freedom. His concept of the human personality has sanctified the fundamental rights of man and invested him with inviolable dignity. The Pakistani nationalism as it emerges from his teaching is free from bigotry, prejudice and intolerance.

One of Iqbal's greatest achievements has been the emphasis that he laid on the spirit of wonder and enquiry. The search for truth is indeed the burden of most of his poetry. It is my earnest desire that we celebrate the memory of Iqbal, as he would have us celebrate it, by dedicating ourselves to the cause of truth, scientific research and creative, fruitful effort rather than by clinging to mere ceremonial lip-service to his thought and philosophy.

(Message to the Iqbal Day Session of the Iqbal Academy held in Karachi on April 21, 1961)

CONSTITUTION COMMISSION REPORT: A PRODUCT OF HARD LABOUR

Gentlemen: we have gathered together to receive from the Chairman of the Constitution Commission, Mr. Justice Shahabuddin, the Report which he and his colleagues have produced after hard labour extending over a period of 14 months. I thank Mr. Justice Shahabuddin for this and also through him his colleagues and the staff.

This Report is in the nature of advice to me as to what shape our Constitution should take. I have every intention of giving its recommendations the greatest consideration they deserve and I have no doubt also that it will help me in discharging the supreme obligation of giving my people a Constitution that will bring solidarity, peace and happiness to them. I hope and pray that God will give me light and guidance to carry out my duty in a befitting manner. *Amen*.

So, with the receipt of this Report, a momentous period of our history has begun. I and all of you, my Cabinet colleagues, who are going to assist me in framing the Constitution have to be continually conscious of it. If we want to make history and we do, then we all have to act with wisdom and courage and rise well above any petty or parochial considerations.

I may also say that we are not acting entirely in the dark. We have the experience of earlier trials and tribulations and we have also the practical experience of running the country for the last nearly three years. We are, therefore, in a position to judge, as far as is humanly possible, as to what would work and what won't. So, this is an exercise

in realities and pragmatism, and we should have no great difficulties in evolving a workable constitution.

It is sometimes said that no matter how good a system, it won't work unless there are men to work it. This is partially true, but what is wholly true is: that it is far more difficult to change a bad system than to change bad men. So, don't let us have a weak system because of the fear that we may not find suitable men to run it. That will be a counsel of despair and we must never fall a prey to it. From now, we shall embark on the process of examination, consultation and formulation of decisions amongst the Cabinet members, for which I shall draw up a programme.

I intend announcing the fundamentals of the Constitution when they are fixed and before it is drafted. Meanwhile, I would ask my people not to start any controversy or indulge in speculation. I hope also that they will continue to support me with the same faith as in the past. I, on my part, solemnly promise to do my best to achieve our common destiny.

While saying this I am not oblivious of the fact that some may not agree with the new Constitution. In human affairs hundred per cent unanimity is unnatural and impossible to achieve and is unrealistic to expect. They need not be dismayed. They will get their opportunity to see changes through normal parliamentary processes which will be provided for in the Constitution.

I had promised Mr. Justice Shahabuddin that this Report will be published. This will be done at a stage when the Constitutional draft is approved. Along with this, I also intend publishing the thinking of my Cabinet and my own thinking as a historical record so that the future generations know the reasons and philosophy behind the provisions of the Constitution.

With this I close and ask you to join me in prayer that God may in His infinite mercy show us the right path leading to solidarity, strength and happiness of the people of Pakistan. *Amen.*

(Speech at the presentation ceremony of the Constitution Commission Report in Rawalpindi, on May 6, 1961)

MESSAGE TO EAST PAKISTAN CYCLONE VICTIMS

I am deeply grieved to learn of the repeated calamities coming to certain parts of East Pakistan. The courage and fortitude with which the people are bearing up with these is heartlifting and I can assure them that everyone of us is praying to God that this period of distress was soon over and that may He in His mercy spare us any more such crushing blows.

The Government of Pakistan will do everything possible to assist the Government of East Pakistan in meeting the situation created by these disasters.

(Message for the Cyclone affected people of East Pakistan sent on May 10, 1961)

APPEAL FOR EAST PAKISTAN RELIEF FUND

East Pakistan has once again been hit by a severe cyclone. The area affected is larger on this occasion than on the previous two occasions. The districts of Khulna and Barisal have suffered most. But eight other districts have also suffered to a very great degree.

Details of the losses of human life, cattle and property are coming slowly. Our latest information is that 150 people have been killed, 125 launches and barges with their occupants and merchandise have sunk, and the number of bamboo and other huts damaged cannot be counted.

This is the third major disaster in East Pakistan during the last seven months. There were a few minor calamities in-between. The cumulative effect of these disasters can only be guessed at this stage.

When I issued an appeal for public donations, after the previous two cyclones, the people of this country and others donated, in round figures, Rs. 35 lakh for which Rs. 34 lakh came from West Pakistan, Rs. 87,000 from East Pakistan and the rest from foreign countries. The Central Government gave grants and loans totalling Rs. 1 crore and 41 lakh and the ICA donated Rs. 50 lakh. There was also a balance in the Governor's Fund of Rs. 36 lakh. All the money thus available was sanctioned for the interim relief of the victims of the previous two disasters leaving a balance of Rs. 18 lakh in the President's East Pakistan Relief Fund. The long-term requirements of the victims of the previous two disasters were much larger, running into several crores.

In the meanwhile, the third cyclone has hit the Province and an

appeal for immediate help has been received from the Government of East Pakistan. I have, therefore, decided to transfer the whole balance of Rs. 18 lakh lying in the President's Fund to the East Pakistan Government for granting immediate relief. But their requirements are much larger.

Circumstances thus compel me to appeal once again to my countrymen, and to our friends abroad to rise to the occasion and donate generously for the relief of our brethren and fellow human beings who have suffered one disaster after another. What they have gone through already cannot be undone. But we must help those who have survived to rehabilitate themselves and to escape further sufferings. I am sure that the repetition of these disasters would move those who possess human sympathy and compassion to give more generously than before for the relief of the unfortunate victims.

Remittances may, please, be sent to the Auditor-General of Pakistan, Karachi, who is the Honorary Treasurer of the Fund. Crossed cheques may be made out in favour of the "President's East Pakistan Relief Fund". All branches of the National Bank of Pakistan, all branches of Habib Bank and all post offices will receive cash donations from those who are not in a position to send cheques. They will issue a receipt forthwith.

(*Appeal for donations for the relief of East Pakistan cyclone sufferers issued on May* 12, 1961)

EID-UZ-ZUHA MESSAGE TO THE NATION

Dear Countrymen:

Assalam-o-Alaikum. Eid Mubarak.

Eid-uz-Zuha commemorates that great sacrifice which was offered to Almighty God purely in His name with complete selflessness and devotion.

If Muslims had followed the true spirit of that sacrifice their condition today would have been entirely different from what it is now. But in actual fact while the ritual of sacrifice has continued to exist, the Ibrahimi spirit behind it has more or less waned in the din of mere festivity.

The ritual of sacrifice is not the only matter that has suffered this fate. This is exactly what has happened to many other golden principles of Islam. For centuries we have managed to make religion more dogmatic and academic and less dynamic and practical. Even in the sphere of formalism, we have bound the spirit of religion in the chains of dogma and made it a helpless prisoner of the past. This is one of the reasons that although many of us today are more or less acquainted with dogmatic Islam, we are still very far from those of its aspects which should form an essential part of our day to day life.

Progress of Science and Knowledge

In the world of today, the widening horizons of knowledge and science have accelerated the tempo of life almost incredibly. The mind of man has liberated itself from many limitations and superstitions

imposed by total lack or inadequacy of knowledge. It will now accept only those matters which will satisfy his curiosity and inquiry in this age of incredible scope and depth of human enlightenment. If we persist in confining religion within the four-walls of the past, there is great danger that many people of the present and future will fall an easy prey to a total or partial rejection of faith.

Dear Countrymen: We are often addicted to claiming with pride that Islam is the only religion which is capable of keeping pace with the times and provides a free incentive to advancement of human society. I venture to say that this claim cannot be proved by words of mouth alone. On the contrary it is our bounden duty to prove and justify it in actual practice.

There are two essential prerequisites for the fulfilment of this objective. First, we should try to understand and imbibe the principles of Islam with undiluted clarity and comprehension; and secondly, we should endeavour to discover ever-new ways and means to act on them in the requirements and environments of our times.

Islamic Principles: Divine and Eternal

So far as the principles of Islam are concerned, Divine Providence has Himself spelled them out in his Holy Book in unambiguous terms. The difficulty however is, that while it has become customary to recite and teach the Holy Quran as a matter of grace, hardly any serious effort is made to go into its real meanings and implications. This is the reason why a wide gulf of disparity yawns between our faith and practice today.

Whether temporal or spiritual, principles are never formulated with a view to become static idols of reverence and adoration. They are in fact intended to be followed and practised. Principles are basic and fundamental, and are not open to change and revision. But the ways and means for adherence to those principles must inevitably progress with the evolution of human mind and society. Unless this happens, faith and its practice are bound to stray into divergent paths and thus lose all contact with each other.

Permit me to quote a mundane example to illustrate my point. When electricity was first discovered, it produced nothing but shocks when touched. As the knowledge of man expanded, he invented new and strange devices for the application of this mighty power. The result is that today the same shock-generating energy has been harnessed to producing light, rotating fans, broadcasting voices, radiating television

and flying high-powered jet planes. All these revolutionary applications of this energy have not in any way altered its basic reality or the principle of its production. This is an analogy which has a parallel in the realm of spiritual experiences as well. One of the most dominating features of Islam is that its principles are timeless and eternal, and make it possible for every age to apply and implement them in the light of its requirements and environments. The *Sunna*, the *Hadith* and the *Fiqah* are a proof positive of this fact. They are a beacon-light for the faithful, illuminating the manners and methods with which the injunctions of Islam were implemented under different conditions and environments.

Dear Countrymen: Beacon-lights are meant forguidance and not for stagnation. Stagnation is a manifestation of darkness and needs no light to grow and flourish. The secret of real progress is that we should comprehend the basic principles of Islam, hold fast to them and under the searchlight of the past, discover fresh avenues for their application in the present and the future. If we fail to do this, there is no doubt that Islam will certainly live, but the Muslims as such will probably languish away. This will be a great tragedy because Islam has not come to live for its own sake but it has in fact come to enable the Muslims to live with dignity and progress both in this world and the next.

Basis for National Existence

There is also another matter to which I wish to draw your pointed attention. Please do remember that no other country or nation is in such dire need of depending on Islam as Pakistan. If, God forbid, other countries of the world choose to stray away from the path of Islam, then, whatever the consequences in the other world, in this world at least they can still afford to exist as nations and communities. The position of Pakistan is entirely different. Our country was founded in the name of Islam and it can subsist only on this name. There is no other basis for our national cohesion and solidarity except Islam. This basis cannot be sustained by vociferous professions of our idealism alone. We must translate our idealism into action for our sheer survival. The greater the harmony between our faith and practice, the greater will be the strength of Pakistan. If, on the other hand, there is disparity between our professions and actions, there is great danger that the very foundations of Pakistan will grow hollow and disintegrate.

So, therefore, if not for any spiritual or moral motives then at least for the purely worldly considerations of our national survival, we have

no option but to stick truly and strongly to our gracious faith.

By far the simplest and the easiest way to do so is to study the Book of God carefully, ponder over its meanings deeply, and in the light of our past traditions and current experiences, discover ways and means for living upto it in the volcanic world of today.

Translation of Recitations from the Holy Quran

Dear Countrymen: I appeal to you most earnestly to pool all your resources of head and heart to fulfil this urgent dictate of destiny. For this purpose I humbly request that whenever in any public or private functions and ceremonies any passages from the Holy Quran are recited, they should invariably be translated in the language of the audience, followed by a clear and lucid interpretation of the mode of their application to the life and conditions of today. It is not a matter of personal or individual enterprise alone. As a matter of fact, it should be launched as a well organised movement so that we might obey the oft-repeated direction of God to ponder over the meaning of His Book and thus come out of darkness into light. Representative institutions like the various tiers of Basic Democracies, Corporations, Municipal Committees etc., can play a valuable part in this mission. I appeal to them to launch this campaign on a wide scale so that the teaching of the Quran, the comprehension of its meaning, and the application of its lessons become a regular and natural feature, not only of every school, college or university but also of every village, town and city.

This is no less than a '*Jehad*' against the forces of ignorance and darkness, and it is the duty of every man and woman of faith to participate in it like a dedicated soldier. I would particularly appeal to the intelligentsia of our country to pay their special attention to it so that the degenerate fashion of sneering at religion is replaced by a positive and wholesome attitude of understanding and respecting it. It is only thus that they can hope to play any role of leadership in preserving our political independence and promoting our ideological integrity. Unless we rise to the occasion and make an honest search to rediscover "*Sirat-ul-Mustaqim*", the straight path ordained by God, I am afraid our spiritual moral, material and national existence will be seriously imperilled.

I earnestly implore you all to ponder over my appeal with complete seriousness of purpose and do all what you can to translate it into actual practice. May God guide and bless you. *Amen. Pakistan Paindabad.*

(*English version of the message to the Nation on the occasion of Eid-uz-Zuha on May* 26, 1961)

SKILLED MAN-POWER ESSENTIAL FOR INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

I trust that the Commonwealth Technical Training Week will help to focus public attention on skilled man-power as a *sine qua non* of industrial progress. Machines, without men trained to handle them, are a national waste. And Pakistan, with her limited foreign exchange resources cannot afford the luxury of importing industrial machinery without providing for skilled workers to operate it.

In the initial stages of Pakistan's industrial development, not much attention seemed to have been paid to the training of man-power employed in industry. This resulted in an imbalance between the cost of installing and operating an industry and the results produced by it. While Government is endeavouring to accelerate the process of training skilled workers, through the National Apprenticeship Training Scheme, it is for private industries to ensure that they also introduce systematic apprenticeship programmes on their own.

Pakistan's economic prosperity depends, to a very large degree, on the standard of efficiency attained by the manifold industries that have been established since the attainment of freedom. The Commonwealth Technical Training Week is a timely reminder of our duty to ensure that we put our industries to the maximum use in the service of our Nation.

(*Message to the first Commonwealth Apprenticeship Technical Training Week opened in Karachi on May* 29, 1961)

FAMILY LAWS ORDINANCE NOT IN CONFLICT WITH QURANIC INJUNCTIONS: REPLY TO MUFTI MOHAMMAD SHAFI'S LETTER

I am in receipt of your letter concerning the Family Laws Ordinance which I have studied most carefully. I am glad that contrary to the practice followed by many other *Ulema*, you have chosen the right course of correspondence for the discussion of points raised by you. I deeply appreciate the seriousness of purpose and candidness with which you have given expression to your view.

The points raised in the detailed note enclosed with your letter are under examination and you will hear further about them from the Ministry concerned. In this letter I wish to confine myself to a few general observations.

From the contents of your letter I gather that you are also deeply conscious of the necessity of reforming the wrong social customs in general, and those relating to family and marriage matters in particular, which are corroding and corrupting the structure of our society. As a matter of fact no honest and enlightened person can deny the urgency of this necessity.

I have no doubt that your close and wide contact with the public must have revealed to you the untold miseries and cruelties which are commonly perpetrated in our country under the cover of indiscriminate polygamy. This does not only result in embittering and ruining the lives of innumerable tongue-tied women and innocent children but it also brings in its wake the social, moral and economic collapse of thousands

of families.

The custom of *Sati* amongst the Hindus has always been looked upon with universal contempt. But the truth is that the matrimonial malpractices current in our society are even more cruel and dreadful than the custom of *Sati*.

In *Sati* it is just one innocent woman who is driven into fire and reduced to ashes. But in our society numberless women are forced to live a life of consuming agony which is worse than death itself. I consider it a barbaric torture of the highest order. As the Head of the State, I just cannot close my eyes to it all.

So far as my understanding of the Holy Quran goes, I feel that there are two types of tyrants. One category is of those who are entrusted with authority and use it wrongly and unjustly. But far worse than them are those, who in spite of their position of authority, shirk the responsibility of removing injustice, cruelty and other vices.

To my mind, the only effective way of eradicating matrimonial malpractices is to formulate such rules and regulations within the framework of divine injunctions as may control the practice of reckless and indiscriminate polygamy.

The imposition of such a control should normally be the responsibility of society itself. But we cannot expect our people to take this initiative on their own accord on account of historic factors which had plunged them into the morass of social stagnation for centuries.

So willy-nilly it falls to the lot of the Government to initiate action in these matters.

As you are aware, the former Government had constituted a Commission to go into the question of marriage and family laws. The members of the Commission were all distinguished persons of law and learning besides being good Muslims. But for one note of dissent, the Commission had produced a number of unanimous suggestions and recommendations.

However, the previous Governments could not rise to the occasion and take further action in this regard on account of narrow political expediencies.

So far as I am concerned, I do not place temporary expediencies over and above the need for basic reforms. Nor do I consider it decent or honest to postpone the implementation of any good schemes merely to sustain cheap popularity.

You might have noticed that the reformative actions which I have taken in the last two-and-a-half years are in no way governed by consi-

derations of cheap popularity or temporary expediencies to which people in authority are sometimes prone to fall an easy prey. Every reform hits one or the other vested interest but to shirk them merely for this reason is against my conscience.

I adore my Faith but I have no pretentions to any great religious learning and knowledge. In promulgating the Family Laws Ordinance I have only acted on the recommendations formulated by the Commission and fully and carefully examined by the Ministry of Law.

So far as my understanding goes, this Ordinance does not conflict with any injunction of the Holy Book or the interpretation of the Hadith. This Ordinance does not interfere with any principles, it only lays down certain procedures for the implementation of the principles ordained.

Fundamentals are indeed unalterable but to make their implementation keep pace with the momentum of changing times is not only the duty of the Government but to a much greater measure it should also be the responsibility of our *Ulema*.

This is the only effective way in which we can hope to save our present and future generations from falling into the abyss of anti-religious or irreligious confusion.

As a simple Muslim, I am convinced that in the light of *Sunnah*, *Hadith* and *Fiqah* we must devise such ways and means of practical life which are compatible with the laws of God and are acceptable to the present-day mind. If we neglect this task then we shall be guilty of widening the already existing gulf between the life and religion.

As a rule every innovation incurs the displeasure of those sections of the people who had become too much addicted to the past malpractices or for whom those malpractices had become a source of individual or collective gain or prestige. This is an unfortunate trait of human psychology but there is no reason why we should allow it to hamper the pace of legitimate progress.

I do not wish to prolong this letter further. As I have already stated the Ministry concerned will send you a more detailed reply on the specific points raised by you. Before I conclude, I would like to emphasise that a great burden of responsibility rests on the shoulders of those whom God has endowed with the knowledge and understanding of our Faith.

That responsibility is this: to liberate religion from the debris of wrong superstitions and prejudices and to make it keep pace with the march of time. It is my belief that Islam is the only religion which cannot

become out of date in any age or climate of material or mental progress, and if today, there is a disparity between our life and our Faith, the fault is our own and not of Islam.

As a man of learning, enlightenment and wide human feelings, I am sure, you will be good enough to give your full consideration to what, in my humble way, I have tried to explain in this letter.

(Reply to the letter of Mufti Mohammad Shafi, Chairman, Managing Committee, Dar-ul-Uloom, Karachi, on Family Laws Ordinance, published on June 11, 1961)

APPEAL FOR PAKISTAN FOUNDATION TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

I am glad to know that the Pakistan Foundation which has been established recently is arranging as its first venture to set up a technical institute in Karachi for training technicians of various grades required in the industry and other technical jobs.

I understand that this Institute will assist in providing the much-needed facilities to our young men to become technicians and tradesmen, urgently required to meet the constantly growing needs of our nation. It will also provide night-school facilities for those technicians who are already employed and desire to improve their standard of technical knowledge after working hours.

I appreciate the efforts of the Pakistan Foundation in undertaking to set up such an Institute in Karachi. We need many educational institutions of this kind in the country and I welcome the co-operation of non-Governmental organisations such as the Pakistan Foundation in this vital task of our national development.

I appeal to the philanthropists and public-spirited people, especially the industrialists, to contribute generously to the Pakistan Foundation Technical Institute and help the Foundation to achieve success in their laudable effort.

(Appeal for contributions to the Pakistan Foundation Technical Institute on June 12, 1961)

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